

Claudius at the River: aspects of biography

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I declare that the PhD thesis *Claudius at the River: aspects of biography* submitted for examination is all my own work:

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Abbreviations

AC	L'antiquité classique
<i>Acta Ant. Acad. Scient. Hung.</i>	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
<i>Adler Mus. Bull.</i>	Adler Museum Bulletin
Aesch. Ag.	Aeschylus, <i>Agamemnon</i>
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
<i>Am. J. Phys. Med. Rehabil</i>	American Journal of Physical Medicine & Rehabilitation
<i>Anc Hist</i>	Ancient History
Apoll. Sidon. Ep.	C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, <i>Epistulae</i>
Appian <i>Bell. Civ.</i>	Appian, <i>Bella civilia</i>
<i>Arch. Fam. Med</i>	Archives of Family Medicine
<i>Arch. Phys. Med. Rehabil</i>	Archives of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation
<i>Arist Poet.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Poetica</i>
<i>Arist. Eth. Nic.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>
<i>Aristoph. Birds</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Birds</i>
Arrian <i>Cyneg.</i>	Arrian, <i>Cynegeticus</i>
<i>Atti Linc</i>	Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei
AUMLA	Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association
Aur. Vict. <i>Caes.</i>	Aurelius Victor, <i>Caesares</i>
<i>Bibl Arch Rev</i>	Biblical Archaeology Review
<i>BMC Neurology</i>	BioMedCentral Neurology
BMCR	Bryn Mawr Classical Review
BMCRE	British Museum catalogue of coins of the Roman Empire
BMJ	British Medical Journal
Caesar. <i>Alex.</i>	Julius Caesar, <i>Commentarius de bello Alexandrino</i>
<i>Cic Pro Cael.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Caelio</i>
<i>Cic. Ad. Fam.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad familiares</i>
<i>Cic. Att.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
<i>Cic. De Leg.</i>	Cicero, <i>De legibus</i>
<i>Cic. De Orat.</i>	Cicero, <i>De Oratore</i>
<i>Cic. De Pro. Cons.</i>	Cicero, <i>De provinciis consularibus</i>
<i>Cic. Dom</i>	Cicero, <i>De domo sua</i>
<i>Cic. Philipp.</i>	Cicero, <i>Orationes Philippicae</i>
<i>Cic. Pro Sest.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Sestio</i>
<i>Cic. Verr.</i>	Cicero, <i>In Verrem</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>Clin. Neuropharmacol</i>	<i>Clinical Neuropharmacology</i>
CP	Cerebral palsy
CQ	Classical Quarterly
<i>Crit. Rev. Neurobiol.</i>	Critical Reviews in Neurobiology
<i>Curr. Treat. Options Neurol.</i>	Current Treatment Options in Neurology
<i>Curtius. Alex.</i>	Q. Curtius Rufus, <i>History of Alexander</i>
<i>Dig.</i>	<i>Digesta</i>
Dio	Dio Cassius
Dionys	Dionysius Halicarnassensis <i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>
<i>Disabil Rehabil.</i>	Disability and Rehabilitation
ET	Essential tremor
<i>Fasti Ost.</i>	Fasti Ostienses
<i>Henzen supp Or.</i>	Orelli's Supplement to W. Henzen, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>Hom. Od.</i>	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>

Hor.Sat.	Horace, <i>Satires</i>
IGRR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, H. Dessau
Int J Eat Disord	International Journal of Eating Disorders
Issues Ment. Health Nurs.	Issues in Mental Health Nursing
J Child Neurology	Journal of Child Neurology
J Commun Disord	<i>Journal of Communication Disorders</i>
Jos.Ant.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i>
Jos.Bell.Iud.	Josephus, <i>Bellum Iudaicum</i>
Jos.Vita	Josephus, <i>Vita</i>
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JNeurol	Journal of Neurology
J Rehabil.Med.	Journal of Rehabilitation Medicine
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
J R Soc Med	Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine
Juv.Sat.	Juvenal, <i>Satires</i>
Livy.	Livy, <i>ab urbe condita</i>
MMWR	Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report
Mov Disord.	Movement Disorders
MRR	The Magistrates of the Roman Republic
Neurogastroenterol.Mot.	Neurogastroenterology and Motility
NINDS	National Institute of Neurological Disorders
Paus	Pausanias
Petron.	Petronius, <i>Satyricon</i>
PIR	<i>Prosopographia imperii Romani</i>
Plaut.Most.	Plautus, <i>Mostellaria</i>
Plin. Ep.	Pliny the Younger, <i>Epistulae</i>
Pliny NH	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis historia</i>
Plut.Sulla	Plutarch, <i>Sulla</i>
Polyb.	Polybius
Postgrad Med J	Postgraduate Medical Journal
PPS	Post Polio Syndrome
QJMed	QJM International Journal of Medicine
RAC	Rivista di archeologia cristiana
RIB	Roman Inscriptions of Britain
RIC	Roman Imperial Coinage
RhM	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RPC	Roman Provincial Coinage
SCI	Scripta Classica Israelica
Sci Am	Scientific American
Semin.Neurol.	Seminars in Neurology
Sen.Apoc.	Seneca, <i>Apococlocyntosis</i>
Sen.De Const.	Seneca, <i>De constantia sapientis</i>
Sen.De Tranquill.An.	Seneca, <i>De tranquillitate animi</i>
Sen.Dial.	Seneca, <i>Dialogi</i>
Sen.Epist.	Seneca, <i>Ad Lucilium epistulae morales</i>
Soph.Phil.	Sophocles, <i>Philoctetes</i>
Suet.Aug	Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i>
Suet.Claud.	Suetonius, <i>Divus Claudius</i>
Suet.Dom.	Suetonius, <i>Domitianus</i>
Suet.Gaius.	Suetonius, <i>Gaius Caligula</i>
Suet.Galba	Suetonius, <i>Galba</i>
Suet.Nero.	Suetonius, <i>Nero</i>
Suet.Tib.	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i>
Suet.Titus.	Suetonius, <i>Divus Titus</i>
Suet.Vesp.	Suetonius, <i>Divus Vespasianus</i>
Suet.Vit.	Suetonius, <i>Vitellius</i>
Tac.Ann.	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>

<i>Tac.Ger.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i>
<i>Tac.Hist.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	Transactions of the American Philological Association
<i>Trans Stud Coll Physicians Phila</i>	Transactions & studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia
TS	Gilles de Tourette's Syndrome
Val.Max	Valerius Maximus
Vell.	Vellius Paterculus

Abstract

Tiberius Claudius Germanicus was acclaimed emperor in AD41 after the murder of Gaius by members of the Praetorian Guard. Despite manifest handicaps that worried the imperial family enough to result in a career of education, scholarship and minor offices, Ti. Claudius Caesar emerged as *princeps*, a position which he held until his untimely death in AD54.

Scholars have assessed the impact of Claudius' disabilities in a negative light, or, in a spirit of revisionism without producing evidence that would authentically refute the original allegations. This is a contradictory result; one is asked to accept as fact the brutality of the negative and satirical portrait of Claudius, but then be obliged by the sources to assume that he was in fact still capable – this is not a tenable position.

Past scholarship has given a cursory assessment of Claudius' illness, and promoted infantile paralysis (polio) or cerebral palsy as being consistent with his apparent eccentricities in the sources. This study carries out a risk assessment of Claudius' birth and early childhood, a pathological examination based on the evidence; the result of the study shows that any long-term illness is stable and then progresses to a degenerative state. After a survey of neurological diseases, the conclusion drawn is that Claudius' ill health is Post Polio Syndrome (PPS).

An important conclusion is that PPS is not connected to the reported stutter, although the voice quality may have been affected by progressive muscle wasting. A detailed and critical examination of the source's descriptions of the events of AD41 demonstrates that selecting Claudius was a realistic choice, one borne out by the medical pathology of PPS.

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Introduction

The aim of the thesis is to explain how the paradox of Claudius' rule created by scholarship can be resolved - how previous enquiry has failed to reconcile the portrait of the weak and feeble puppet controlled by his wives and freedmen with the enlightened ruler. Once chosen to be *princeps* in the hours after the assassination of the emperor Gaius, Claudius would rule Rome for fourteen years yet considering the poor specimen presented in the sources, how is that possible? The first step is to identify and examine the evidence in the sources relevant to Claudius' life and health, in order to test the hypothesis that Claudius was physically and mentally capable of being a candidate for the principate.

The following sections set out the critical thinking behind the thesis, and the problems that are encountered with methodology. The chapter outlines in section A demonstrate the goal is to discover how ancient and modern historians have judged Claudius by exploring as much of the evidence as possible given the constraints of the thesis. This section mirrors the structure of the thesis, and how the chapters engage with the evidence. Section B begins with a brief discussion of the concept of disability in antiquity, and continues with the problems that occur with the study of disease in ancient sources. The use of retrospective diagnosis using modern methods is taken into account, and the result of this discussion sets out how the sources are to be used in this investigation.

The sources are described as stand alone entities in section C, even though there is a cumulative aspect to their work, and except for Seneca, each source can draw on the previous authors. The aim is to establish their worth and relevance to this enterprise not to reproduce their biographical data, while their literary output is more fully tackled in chapter four. The sources are presented in chronological order which

reflects the potential for the cumulative amalgamation of Claudius' (mainly negative) characteristics.

The biographical section D introduces the family background and the influences on the decisions taken on his behalf. Establishing where he fits in the Julio-Claudians is important in terms of Claudius' history and ability, so there is a sketch of Claudius' life in terms of the contemporary descriptions and an outline of his immediate ancestry. This outline gives context to the discussions about the descriptions of Claudius, allowing other Julio-Claudians to be considered in comparison.

The last part of the introduction, section E, explains the title of the thesis. The section shows how the thesis is a self-contained part of a wider question regarding Claudius' characteristics that includes his dysfluent speech and how it is important to contextualise and ring-fence the medical aspects.

A For over one hundred years Classical scholarship has fashioned proposals for Claudius' illness which basically fall into two camps, infantile paralysis or cerebral palsy, but little account has been taken of the human consequences of these illnesses. For scholars to propose significant neurological diseases, then to reverse away and water their proposals down, advocating a mild form of the disease, does not tally with what is reported in the sources. The medical community has also tried to solve this enigma, but produce diagnoses that are either too severe, very difficult to apply across the sources or are simply outlandish as a result of taking the sources entirely at face value. The problem both groups of scholars face is how to interpret the sources, and determine what Seneca, Josephus, Juvenal, Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius really tell their readers about Claudius. Representative of the orthodox view taken by scholarship of Claudius is:

‘Despite the legacy of sensible activity, Claudius left behind an unattractive reputation. Even if his cruelty was a matter for the beholder’s perception and his weakness was partly a construction from the circumstances, other character traits are too persistent to be written off as malignant exaggeration. A heavy drinker, he was inconsistent, distracted, gauche, quick to anger, meddlesome and took excessive delight in bloodshed. It is true that social ineptitude and disagreeable behaviour do not preclude intelligence or competence, but they did destroy the aura of *auctoritas* and *dignitas* already expected of an emperor in the first century. He failed to fit the image of the prince’.¹

The difficulties of arriving at a diagnosis without the patient being present, and the additional impediment of attempting to marry the sources to modern medicine, are acknowledged from the outset; to unravel the sources will require a close examination and comparison of what is in the extant texts. This will be tackled chronologically in terms of Claudius’ lifetime, from birth, through the hours before and after he was acclaimed as *princeps* in Rome, to the period at the end of his life as depicted by Seneca. The first chapter will examine the circumstances surrounding Claudius’ birth, and investigate whether there is any evidence that points to problems connected to the birth. If the imperial family then accepted him, even as a relation in the wider family, the requirement is to determine the significance of the *praenomen*, *nomen* and *cognomen* that were given to the infant Claudius and to establish his association and standing within the imperial family.

The second chapter will unravel the events of the murder of Gaius and the accession of Claudius; the aim is to determine whether Claudius was chosen by the Praetorians solely because of his family connections (through the popularity of his brother Germanicus and his father Drusus) or because of any personal attributes. Equally important determining whether there is any evidence for physical or mental infirmity, characteristics that would have led the Praetorians to choose someone else. The murder of the emperor should have left the various factions vying for power - any

¹ D.W.Hurley ed. *Suetonius Divus Claudius*, 2001, p.13-14 and n46, which states how physiognomics was used in judging character by physical appearance.

negative characteristics or character traits would be under intense scrutiny as events unfolded in real time and in the sources. This chapter deconstructs the events and determines whether there is any evidence of Claudius' lack of physical ability or mental clarity. This is a close and analytical study of the events surrounding the murder and accession using as the main source Josephus' *Antiquities*. The focus of the investigation is on the actions of the Praetorians and the German bodyguard. These two bodies hold the key to understanding what happened on the Palatine and, as a result, exactly where and how Claudius fits with the events. There are sections on the characteristics of the German bodyguard, and an explanation of the names they were given which will help in the identification of who actually found Claudius after the murder. A section on the potential rewards for exemplary service to the emperor follows, attempting to determine any motives for the actions of the *Germani* and their involvement in the accession. Directly linked to this episode in Josephus is Suetonius' version of events, which is analysed in the next chapter. The account in Suetonius' *Lives* is examined closely and aspects of theatrical Mime, and Cicero's *Pro Caelio* are discussed as direct or indirect influences on the version the author has used. The technical nature of mime is explored and compared to the dramatic structure used in Suetonius' particularly graphic version of the acclamation of Claudius, a representation that has burrowed deep into the Western psyche.

The fourth chapter sets out the descriptions of Claudius' physical characteristics in the works of Seneca, Josephus, Juvenal, Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius. Particular emphasis will be placed on the literary evidence of Seneca because of his personal knowledge of Claudius, and that of Suetonius because his work is used as the basis for most diagnoses. The conclusions of modern scholarship will be briefly reviewed. In addition, new numismatic evidence will be presented which corroborates specific descriptions in the sources. Similarly using Barton's recent work on Physiognomics and applying it to the problem of Claudius, a new perspective and understanding will be presented.²

² T.S. Barton, *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics and Medicine under the Roman Empire*, 1994.

The diagnostic fifth chapter applies pathology to the symptoms of Claudius' illness as described in the sources. The aim is to narrow the potential catalogue of diseases and then remove from the equation those illnesses with similar symptoms to those reported in the sources but which are untenable as a pragmatic diagnosis. The section on medicine and classics evaluates only three of the most recent suggestions - dystonia, athetoid cerebral palsy and Tourette's Syndrome, while the last section of chapter five establishes whether there is evidence of recovery and late-onset of a disorder. The final chapter discusses polio in relation to the city of Rome, to Claudius as a child and as an adult and discusses how the evidence collected can then be re-applied to the sources. This chapter also describes in detail the long-term results of polio, and establishes that these symptoms can be applied to the evidence identified about Claudius.

Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* is used as the baseline for symptoms and the portrayal of Claudius because of Seneca's proximity to the emperor over a long period of time, and because it is the earliest source. The description in Dio is furthest removed in terms of time and may carry residual influences from the Senecan account of Claudius. Therefore from the outset Seneca's eyewitness account, however satirical, is the yardstick; each source is measured against this, looking for differences, discrepancies or similarities. A source is evaluated to identify if it is building on the previous source— therefore Seneca's satire or Josephus for example, will either complement or challenge the later material. The aim is to weigh the evidence and make a decision on relevance and reliability so the symptoms that are identified can be used to compare to patterns of symptoms in various diseases.³ It is important to emphasise that factors that are identified as symptoms in the thesis might not be written by a source to record the specific characteristics of a particular illness or disorder - they were being recorded and promoted by the sources as characteristics of Claudius.

³ The interpretative strategies used are either to analyse a text as a whole, a chapter, a phrase or just a word depending on context.

This process is used to establish any symptoms that may be depicted in the sources in a non-medical format, and account is taken of literary genre, exaggeration or the process itself of an author collating the material to be used. These symptoms then help to produce a picture that is a cumulative compilation. All neurological diseases were under consideration from the outset of the research and this extensive list was reduced by a process of deduction and elimination; at the outset relatively straightforward, but requiring finer adjustments as the list of possibilities reduced.

This allows progress on two fronts; the evidence in each source can be used to assemble a composite picture (which although it could be claimed was a risky process it can be sustained by applying the evidence to modern and not ancient pathology) and if one accepts that Claudius had some form of illness at some point in his life then most of the picture should fit one of the diseases. It is important to stress that this process is source driven – the need to understand the source material is paramount - and that it is not an exercise in modern neurology or pathology.

A very important part of this process is the impact of the prognosis on the relevance of any disease to the case of Claudius. A disease may fit many of the symptoms but cannot be considered because the prognosis for that disease is so bad – an example would be amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS).⁴ There is difficulty in that many neurological diseases can have similar or similar-looking symptoms. To overcome this problem of identification or relevance, account is taken of the prognosis from the onset of the disease – this is bolstered by the use of case studies compiled from research or anecdotal evidence to act as a comparison for Claudius.

The results of the investigation show what a source knew about Claudius or the information he was prepared to use. They also admit the possibility the disease could

⁴ See Appendix 5.3.

be progressive with late-onset symptoms of deterioration – this is a significant hypothesis because it allows Claudius to be suffering only from the consequences of the original illness at his accession, but not to be suffering from the acute illness at his accession. This approach allows progress to be measured for the analysis of each disease until it is eliminated from the study.

Another factor in measurement is that the identification of the disease should aim to be a single-disease scenario, a ‘best fit’, rather than a complex multi-disease relationship. The intention is to produce a conclusion where factors described in the sources have been identified as symptoms and how they map over a single disease. As a result the disease can be separated from the stutter or dysfluency which will allow related factors to be studied, identified and analysed in isolation.

B This study does not set out to look at disability *per se* in relation to Claudius, although it is considered here as part of the setting out of the parameters for enquiry. It becomes apparent that it is not disability but handicap that should be evaluated because Claudius, for better or worse, was able to carry out the office of *princeps*.⁵ The UN defines handicap as the result of a disability, one that limits or prevents an individual carrying out a task or role - it is therefore the relationship between disability and an environment.⁶ Handicap occurs when persons with a disability ‘encounter cultural, physical or social barriers which prevent their access to the various systems of society that are available to other citizens. Thus, handicap is the

⁵ The Disability Discrimination Act 1995 part1.1 states ‘a person has a disability for the purposes of this Act if he has a physical or mental impairment which has a substantial and long-term adverse effect on his ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities’.

⁶ The United Nations’ definitions are ‘Impairment: Any loss or abnormality of psychological, physiological, or anatomical structure or function’, and ‘Disability: Any restriction or lack (resulting from an impairment) of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a human being’, and ‘Handicap: A disadvantage for a given individual, resulting from an impairment or disability, that, limits or prevents the fulfilment of a role that is normal, depending on age, sex, social and cultural factors, for that individual’. UN Enable, World Programme of Action Concerning Disabled Persons, <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/enable/diswpa01.htm#Definition>, see resolution 37/52. 1/., accessed 1/09/05.

loss of or the limitation of opportunities to take part in the life of the community on an equal level with others'.⁷ The first part of the section tackles how the Romans assessed deformity or a physical abnormality requires some definition to give a background for the thesis of explicit views that could have been applied to or have become associated with Claudius. The study of disease as described and understood by ancient physicians is the second component of the section. It also examines the methods of employing modern knowledge to produce a retrospective diagnosis of a disease described by the ancient physicians.

Several recent studies have considered issues of disability and disease in antiquity, and they illustrate that 'attitudes towards the deformed and disabled reflect a particular social reality, notwithstanding the fact that the basic human responses to those exhibiting extreme physical abnormalities, such as fascination, contempt, loathing, pity, and dread, are probably universal'.⁸ Beauty was generally a mark of divine favour, while deformity represented the anger of the gods, but any study should, if possible, combine social opinion/change with the experiences of the individual. Social groups may have changed attitudes over time and this may vary from group to group.⁹

Garland highlights the problems of terminology, where in Latin *monstrum* meant the malformation of an animal or human or described a mythological monster; and notes that in Greek there was no word other than *teras* to denote a gross deformity either for literary or scientific use.¹⁰ There does not seem to have been a desire to create a vocabulary that would allow specific detailed descriptions of the deformed but that may be because they did not see the gradations or differentiate according to the 21st

⁷ <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/enab/diswpa01.htm#Definition>, 1/09/05.

⁸ R.Garland *The Eye of the Beholder, Deformity & Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*, 1995 p.2.

⁹ Garland (1995) p.2, the difficulty for any examination of social opinion is if any social change takes place, how to determine what shift has occurred, and how it happened. See N.Vlahogiannis 'Disabling Bodies', *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings, Studies on the human body in antiquity*, ed. D.Montserrat, 1998 p.28-33.

¹⁰ Garland (1995) p.4; D.Ogden *The Crooked Kings of Ancient Greece* 1997 discusses deformed children, *terata* p.9-14.

century sensibilities.¹¹ As for definitions, they are liable to a subjective judgement according to a society's morphology that is creating the classification - 'even in our own language no absolute distinction exists between a deformity, which we may define as deviation from normal appearance, and a disability, which, whether or not it is the result of a deformity, produces a malfunction'.¹² The deformity may directly or indirectly cause a disability; a consequence of the latter is a psychological state that may be heightened or lessened by social status. Garland assesses how even a minor deformity such as baldness had a negative psychological impact on luminaries such as Caesar, Gaius and Domitian; this is an example where power and visibility are compromised for the individual by an 'inhibiting social handicap',¹³ and where the personal reaction to the baldness is demonstrated by adverse behaviour. Whether this is a disability in Roman terms is open to question - there is no direct evidence that a bald *princeps* was seen by Roman people as less effective than a hirsute *princeps* - but there should be little doubt that it did have a personal impact. The upshot is that there is no useful definition formulated by the Greeks or Romans that establishes what constitutes a disability,¹⁴ although Vlahogiannis offers a model that disability was an inability to function in terms that would benefit the community because of a non-perfect body and that there were cultural values built upon the idea

¹¹ Garland (1995) p.4-5.

¹² Garland (1995) p.5, gives an example of the hunchback who is deformed, but disability depends on physiological and psychological factors that may prevent certain activities. Lesley Dean-Jones produces a clear and concise criticism on the subject of disability in the review of 'Martha L. Rose. *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*' 2005, pointing to Lysias 24, which shows that an Athenian had illegally drawn a pension for the *hoi adunatwi (hoi adunatoi)*, "the disabled" and states 'Aristotle clearly says the pension was granted to those who were indigent and incapacitated by bodily infirmity'. Dean-Jones critically questions Rose's assumptions of the disabled being accepted as an integral part of society, and counters plausibly that the disabled were recognised and excluded from everyday life. Rose's book is part of a series, and is producing interpretations of evidence from the perspective of Disability Studies see p.1-7, also see Petra Kuppers' review, 'Martha L. Rose. *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*' 2004, and Kuppers highlights the difficulty with experience and the problem of using 'contemporary experiential accounts of specific embodiments in order to make up for the lack of data from the ancient world'. N.Vlahogiannis 1998 p.15ff. discusses terminology and semantics of what "Disability" means, where 'the able-bodied are a primary point of reference' p.16, and that the disability can be classified as polydactylism, left-handedness, old age, obesity, impotence, and the 'disabled' are those from the lower echelons of society, the poor, the ugly and the diseased, p.17. The concept of the perfect body is examined later in terms of disability *per se* being the "Other" for the able-bodied, an example is left-handedness as an ill omen, or the lameness of Hephaestus. For a thorough examination of Hephaestus' lameness see J-P Vernant, 'From Oedipus to Periander: Lameness, Tyranny Incest in legend and history', 1982 p.19-38; M. Detienne, J-P Vernant *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, 1979 p.259-75.

¹³ Garland (1995) p.5-6, Suet.*Caes.*XLV.2; *Gaius*.L.1; *Dom.*XVIII.2.

¹⁴ Garland (1995) p.8.

of a perfect body. The outcome is basically those who are accepted by a community are not disabled.¹⁵

Garland adds the conclusions that there is only imprecise terminology for pathology which gives a vague picture of an illness, there is inconsistent differentiation between congenital and non-congenital diseases and deformities and the evidence on 'the disabled' is too thin to allow any hypotheses on social attitudes at a specific time let alone between cultural differences.¹⁶ It is more useful to look at specifics and the difficulties with identifying congenital deformity can be partially redressed by comparative studies – using modern estimates where congenital malformation needing treatment affects c.3% of all newborn infants and in addition 1% of newborn infants have a prenatally determined deformity which could be fatal.¹⁷ The importance of Garland's argument is that the prevalence in antiquity is at least equal to these figures because of the high levels of malnutrition and disease, plus there is a possibility that there was hereditary element – it is likely the incidence of congenital disability was higher but fewer affected children would have survived.¹⁸ This brings the question of exposure and infanticide into the equation, not just those children who died through natural causes as a result of their deformity, such as a cleft palate.¹⁹ There are problems associated with interpreting the evidence of exposure and infanticide in Rome – the law on killing maimed or monstrous children that is ascribed to Romulus by Dionysius of Halicarnassus is dubious and very late considering the period it relates to – it is not corroborated by another source.²⁰

¹⁵ Vlahogiannis (1998) p.18.

¹⁶ Garland (1995) p.9.

¹⁷ Garland (1995) p.12, citing research figures from 1987 and 1989.

¹⁸ Garland (1995) p.12-13.

¹⁹ See Ogden p.29-34 for Oedipus as literary example of exposure, identified as having deformed feet - 'swollen-foot', (*Oidi-pous*). For survey of exposure in Greek *poleis*, eugencis in Sparta, and possible rearing of deformed children in Athens see Garland (1995) p.13-6 and the divine aspects p.59-67.

²⁰ Dionys.II.15.1-2; Garland (1995) p.16; B.D. Shaw, 'Raising and Killing Children: two Roman myths', 2001 on the myth of the legal model of the *paterfamilias*, which gave the father a formal power, the so-called *ius vitae necisque* (the 'right of life and death'), where the father could legally kill his children p.56-77. See chapter 1 on Claudius' birth for Shaw's persuasive argument of the mythic ritual of the *tollere liberum*, where the father lifts up the child in recognition of legitimacy. Shaw concurs with Garland on the source problems over ritual killing citing earliest reference to Cicero *De Domo sua*, and Shaw explores the legal aspect of a father's legal power *potestas* in regard to adoption and *adrogatio*, p.62ff.

‘It should be emphasized, again, that we are not dealing here with the tragic realities of infanticide or infant exposure that were common to many premodern societies, including that of imperial Rome, but rather with a firmly established legal right (*ius*) or a formal power (*potestas*) possessed by adult male citizens over their offspring: the *ius/potestas vitae necisque*’.²¹

This power over life and death does not relate specifically to the study of Claudius’ childhood and his life except for the aspect of disposing of a seriously deformed child. Even this concept is fraught with problems because there are exceptions and there is an unaccounted for sea-change in attitudes. The previously harsher Greek system of disposing of children, in some cases at least, was abandoned for something more compassionate. There are a very few recorded examples of congenitally disabled being raised,²² although Claudius is also used as an example by Garland. There is a problem here because this is speculative and assumes Claudius was deformed yet notwithstanding this he was given an education. It should be argued that he was given an education because he may well not have been congenitally deformed. The later chapters will demonstrate that this was a more likely scenario, and so to assume Claudius is disabled, or his life should be viewed as though he is disabled, will seriously skew the interpretation of the sources.

One of the models for disability, the moral model, is represented by divine prejudice or anger resulting in a deformity. This can be seen in the myth of Hephaestus, although his misfortune at the hands of the gods is tempered by the ‘principle whereby a special defect is redeemed or compensated for by a special gift or talent’.²³ The Romans explained birth omens, where nature is violated by such as

²¹ Shaw (2001) p.57. also see Garland (1995) p.16-7, cites Cic.*Laws* 3.8, 19 commenting on Table IV for the laws of Twelve Tables relating to killing of children.

²² Garland (1995) p.17-8; also cites *Digest* for legal aspects including parents being able to claim privileges for having a child even if it is deformed.

²³ Garland (1995) p.61; a deformed child may have reaped the sins of the parents. For Hephaistos see *Illiad* 2.76, 15.281; *Ody.*8.295; Hesiod *Theog.*865, 925. The four historical and social models of disability are moral, medical, rehabilitation, and disability models, see D.Kaplan, *The Definition of Disability*, www.accessbiblesociety.org/topisc/demographics-identity/dkaplanpaper.htm, 1/09/05.

meteors, earthquakes or raining blood, as signs from the gods;²⁴ and recording of strange births increases when there is intense social and political turmoil and mention of one strange occurrence would elicit more reports of prodigies and *monstrum*.²⁵ The problem is how to interpret each situation. Are the gods angry at some act or snub? Or did prodigies foretell of disaster? Garland proposes three functions for portents and prodigies:²⁶ "retrospective", showing where society has reached a breakdown; "prognostic", warning what was on the way; "symptomatic", running side-by-side with contemporary events as society fragments and derails. Claudius' birth could justifiably fit any one of the three functions – more than likely to foretell of the death of Drusus or the Varus disaster – but as Suetonius was writing much later, the *monstrum* comment by Antonia about Claudius may carry a different connotation in Suetonius' version and herald Gaius' or Nero's reign. This is purely speculative, but if it worked as a retrospective prodigy it could be to mark the end of the changes from Republican to imperial rule. The symptomatic function is difficult to place, but it could point to the never-ending problems of the accession for Augustus. These factors should be considered when reading the sources on Claudius' childhood – the lack of information about Claudius' infancy is problematic, but also interesting. There is so little detail written about aristocratic childhood including those of the emperors, that Claudius' is not out of place.

In terms of disability and deformity, Garland concludes that those who were affected by some form of disability were bound by similar views to today, where they were subject to myths and stereotypes and were either treated with fear and suspicion or were subject to 'an unhealthy blend of amusement, fascination and embarrassment'.²⁷ The conclusion promoted by Garland is one of integration into

²⁴ Garland (1995) p.67ff.

²⁵ Garland (1995) p.69.

²⁶ Garland (1995) p.69-70. Also see Livy 27.11.4, 27.37.2-6, 31.12.6-8; Tac. Ann. 15.47. For the decline in the use of human portents such as hermaphrodites because Rome was not under the threat of destruction see p.70-2.

²⁷ Garland (1995) p.178, the deformed could also be a moral lesson for the masses, particularly in Greek *poleis* where the parents were believed to be punished for a transgression; also the example of scapegoats being used to protect the city p.23-6. Also see T. Goldstein, M. Winkler, M. Chun, 1995 *Succeeding Together: People with disabilities in the workplace, a curriculum for Interaction*,

society because the disabled, regardless of their use as scapegoats, portents, or as a result of the gods' retribution, 'they were divested of their intrinsic human identity and worth'.²⁸ In effect, those suffering from a deformity were 'integrated' into society in order to be excluded by society. Pliny the Elder states that it is because of Nature's boredom and to create a sense of awe in people that malformations occur - this promotes the idea of ridicule and the Roman equivalent of a Victorian Freak Show being acceptable. There was no need for the masses to identify with the disabled and certainly no need to treat them as human beings.²⁹ Quite how Claudius fits into this model is debatable as he was *princeps*, and ruled Rome from AD41-54 but in general there is a difficulty in identifying the evidence for progressive change in a condition (although disabilities because of injury or amputation are attested).³⁰ An additional factor that should be considered is the Republican tradition of the retention of *cognomina* that described the initial disability of an ancestor, such as Luscinius *One-eyed*, Naso *Big nose*, Caecus *Blind*, Flaccus *Big ears*, Balbus *Stutterer*.³¹ There is no evidence of any derision being directed at the bearer for taking such a name. An example of embracing this practice is that of Publius Furius Crassipes *Splay foot*, who celebrated his aedileship by minting a *denarius* in 84BC and 83BC, which showed a deformed foot and a personification of Cybele/Tyche.³² This is evidence of a source of pride in ancestors but the problem facing the interpretation of the evidence of Claudius is that the views are equally retrospective, not contemporary.

Students with Disability Internship Project, www.csun.edu/~sp20558/dis/emcur.html, 1/09/05 which deals with myths and misconceptions of disability in a work environment.

²⁸ Garland (1995) p.179.

²⁹ Garland (1995) p.179; cites Pliny *NH*.7.32.

³⁰ Garland (1995) p.132 plastic surgery, p.134 amputation of limbs, especially in Rome (Celsus 7.33.1-2), and even mental sickness p.137-9, (Herodotus account of Cleomenes "paranoid schizophrenic suicide", *Hdt.*6.75.3), and some of the treatments for deformity were unlikely to be of benefit, see p.139-40.

³¹ Garland (1995) p.78-9, cites Pliny *NH*.11.150 for Luscinius, and other *cognomina*.

³² Garland (1995) p.79; *AR* denarius, obv: [AED] CVR Turreted head of City right, deformed foot turned up behind, rev:[P FVRIVS] on curule chair, [CRASSIPES] in exergue, Sears No. 275; Furia 19 Crawford 356/1c; Sydenham 735b issued 84BC; and Furia 20; Sydenham 735; Crawford 356/1a, issued 83BC, Sear *Roman Coins and their Values* (RCV 2000 Edition), <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s0275.t.html> 18/06/05.

Further, there is no serious consideration in the sources or in modern classical scholarship of whether the ridicule and accusations of mental slowness or stupidity were connected to having a stutter or if it was a fertile source of ridicule for Roman commentators and satirists.³³

In the study of disease, retrospective diagnosis is fraught with complexity and in some cases impossibility. Grmek attempts the basic, albeit difficult, idea of reconstructing a disease from an ancient text. There are inherent complications because of shifting terminology, and ancient definitions of disease and he promotes a multidisciplinary approach using techniques such as paleopathology, iconography, immunology, epidemiology, rather than relying purely on the literary sources.³⁴ In response to the problem, Grmek produced the concept of pathocoenosis which refers to a collection of pathological states in a population at a given time and where the frequency and spread of a disease is dependent on the frequency and spread of all other diseases in a given population. Over time a pathocoenosis will find a state of equilibrium.³⁵ A pathocoenosis can have diseases that are symbiotic, antagonistic or indifferent to other diseases;³⁶ Grmek argues for an interdependence of diseases in a given population and that these can be quantified by analysing distribution patterns and frequency in the studied population.³⁷ This dialogue on the mathematical probability of disease distribution leads to a useful premise for the study of ancient disease – that even though quantifying a disease in antiquity is possible only in hypothesis, ‘it is clear, from logarithmic and log normal distributions, that each

³³ It is a very easy characteristic to lampoon as demonstrated by Eric Idle’s stuttering jailer in the film *Life of Brian*. Whether the Romans would do something similar is purely conjectural for the moment. The message in the foundation myth of Battos the stutterer in Herodotus shows he had singular qualities of perseverance that explains why he was chosen by the oracle, Garland p.97. It is of interest that one of the virtues that Claudius promotes is *Constantia*.

³⁴ M.D Grmek *Diseases in the Ancient Greek World*, 1989, pathology in Homer and wounds p.18-38, paleodemography: demographic traits from bones used to help build the picture of disease for pathocoenosis p.87ff., paleopathology: a disease is identified from bone evidence p.48-86, as well as discussing epidemiology, and pathology.

³⁵ Grmek (1989) p.3.

³⁶ Grmek (1989) p.3-4, for explanation of environmental. Etiological factors; antagonism between diseases can occur in the case of poor hygiene causing diseases that are in conflict with cancer or Parkinson’s, because death results from the former before they can die of the latter.

³⁷ Grmek (1989) p.3-4.

pathocoenosis must have a small number of common diseases and a great number of rare ones'.³⁸

There are further complications with retrospective diagnosis. Semantics can cause problems because some terms do not have the same meaning today as when used by Hippocrates – it is the terms for a single symptom or disease that have survived, such as baldness, haemorrhage, jaundice.³⁹ In contrast a term such as sciatica may be the same disease but it refers to different model – Hippocrates described pain in the hip, whereas today it is a chronic pain disorder of the sciatic nerve as a result of irritation or injury to the nerve.⁴⁰ There may be a shift of meaning, either subtle or a quantum leap, but a retrospective diagnosis is considered on firmer ground in many cases because of scholarship on the ancient texts and an assumption that 'the semantic context and biological processes in question are unchanged', which allows diagnoses to be based on what can be interpreted as clinical descriptions.⁴¹ Grmek never loses sight of the vulnerability of retrospective diagnosis – it can be tricky to exclude other diseases, and because of medical advances, it is even harder to make a case due to the reluctance to promote a diagnosis based on a few clinical symptoms.⁴²

The research into how a diagnosis using modern terminology can be reconciled with ancient evidence is investigated by Graumann, who centres his research on the methodology of producing diagnoses from Hippocrates' *Epidemics*. To achieve this aim he uses the methodology of Grmek on *retrospective diagnosis* or *paleo-*

³⁸ Grmek (1989) p.4, This allows the study of the main diseases in any given period, and allows Grmek to propose the concept of pathocoenotic dynamism.

³⁹ Grmek (1989) p.6.

⁴⁰ Grmek (1989) p.6, http://www.ninds.nih.gov/disorders/chronic_pain/detail_chronic_pain.htm, 17/06/05.

⁴¹ Grmek (1989) p.7, for a list of identified diseases. Lutz Alexander Graumann, *Die Krankengeschichten der Epidemienbücher des Corpus Hippocraticum. Medizinhistorische Bedeutung und Möglichkeit der retrospektiven Diagnose*. 2000, Table 3b collates a list of diseases identified from Hippocrates *Epidemics*; mumps, brucellosis, dysentery, enteric fever, malaria, relapsing fever, blackwater fever, meningitis, typhus, puerperal fever, gangrene, severe erysipelas, streptococcal septicaemia, 'anthrax', strangulated hernia, inflammation of lymph glands, hysterical neuropathy (loss of motor function), poliomyelitis, pneumonia, tetanus, osteomyelitis, epilepsy.

⁴² Grmek (1989) p.7, who adds that many diagnoses rely on mathematical probabilities, and there is a risk of diagnosis only confirming what was believed to be true – a self-fulfilling system.

diagnosis and he presents both sides of a debate on methodology;⁴³ Grmek on the one hand and the theory of pathocoenosis is set in opposition to Leven who believes that a retrospective diagnosis is untenable because of the methodological difficulties,⁴⁴ where the disease in the context of a socio-cultural context is time specific.⁴⁵ Following Grmek, Graumann demonstrates the difference between ancient and modern diagnosis, and takes into account the semantic shifts that may have occurred in the intervening period, maintaining that it is possible to identify the illnesses in *Epidemics* with modern terminology.⁴⁶

Graumann's work clarifies the opinions on the prevalence of poliomyelitis recorded in *Epidemics*. At 1.14⁴⁷ and 2.2.8 Goodall identifies polio⁴⁸ while Grmek proposes conversion hysteria as the likely diagnosis for a woman who had asymmetric paralysis of right arm and left leg after a cough - no other change was noted to her face or intellect and after 20 days she improved,⁴⁹ and also had her period. Grmek has an interest in separating this case from his analysis of the Hippocratic report on "cough of Perinthus" a winter epidemic,⁵⁰ diagnosed as diphtheria. The breakthrough in understanding was identifying that there was a seasonal pathocoenosis.⁵¹ The physician's contemporary account is analysed and the terms used discussed in

⁴³ M.Bontty review of Lutz Alexander Graumann, *Die Krankengeschichten der Epidemienbücher des Corpus Hippocraticum. Medizinhistorische Bedeutung und Möglichkeit der retrospektiven Diagnose.*, 2003.

⁴⁴ Graumann (2000) p.118-122, and p.123 summarises Leven's views; Bontty (2003). Leven argues that 'retrospective diagnosis' is speculative p.118, and that it is not a scientific but an Arts discipline, p.160. See K.H.Leven 'Krankheiten - historische Deutung versus retropective Diagnose', *Medizngeschichte - Aufgaben, Probleme, Perspektiven*, 1998, p.153-85.

⁴⁵ Charlotte Schubert, review of Lutz Alexander Graumann: *Die Krankengeschichten der Epidemienbücher des Corpus Hippocraticum. Medizinhistorische Bedeutung und Möglichkeiten der retrospektiven Diagnose*, 2000.

⁴⁶ See n27 above Graumann Table 3b p208-61 covers *Epidemics* bk1-7 and gives symptoms, diagnosis, prognosis; Bontty (2003).

⁴⁷ The opinion of Grmek has been discussed above.

⁴⁸ Graumann Table 3b p.218.

⁴⁹ Grmek (1989) p.336-7; *Epid.* VI.7.1, p.305-6. See E. Miller 'Conversion Hysteria: is it a Viable Concept?' *Cognitive Neuropsychiatry* 4.3 (1999) 181-91, accepts symptoms can occur without an adequate pathological base, but a lack reliable evidence on patient experience of the symptoms makes judgement difficult; and the conversion of psychological stress into physical symptoms such as paralysis of a limb is unproven, www.ingentaconnect.com 24/06/05.

⁵⁰ Grmek (1989) p.305-7, and a commentary on the text on p.307-14

⁵¹ Grmek (1989) p.338-9, and Dr. Chamseru and 18th century physician who recognised the seasonal aspect of the disease.

context - diphtheria is excluded and although acute poliomyelitis is a possibility, conversion hysteria is more likely. 'From a medical standpoint, the remark about the absence of change in the face or intelligence of the patient is a valuable sign that betrays the broad clinical experience of this particular physician. Without it, one would have diagnosed an organic brain lesion'.⁵²

This comment is significant in the study of possible diseases, because experienced physicians could recognise symptoms and Grmek continues to discuss the possibility of the recording of a single epidemiological event, or a common source;⁵³ the descriptions of symptoms in *Epidemics* IV.50 are too vague for a retrospective diagnosis as the diseases illustrated could be poliomyelitis, diphtheria, or Guillain-Barré syndrome amongst others.⁵⁴ Although the evaluation and diagnosis of poliomyelitis will be covered in later chapters, establishing the existence of the disease is a useful exercise. Poliomyelitis would exist in antiquity as an endemic disease and part of this thesis is to demonstrate that the disease was present. As Grmek points out, diagnosis of the acute phase is virtually impossible and explains some references as diphtheria, but concedes that some deformities may be a result of polio.

Grmek reviews congenital deformity,⁵⁵ an example being a malformation of the spinal column that takes the form of vertebral fusions, which if in the neck can give rise to neurological problems.⁵⁶ Of interest are the cases of clubfoot where there is a decision to be made between a congenital or a pathological condition. The Hippocratic physicians knew about the different types of clubfoot and explained permanent deformity of the ankle and foot because of birth complications –

⁵² Grmek (1989) p.330.

⁵³ For the Hippocratic physician see Ludwig Edelstein *Ancient Medicine, Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein*, ed. O. Temkin, ed. and trans. C.L. Temkin, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore & London, 1967 p.3-110.

⁵⁴ Grmek (1989) p.332.

⁵⁵ Grmek (1989) see p.69-75.

⁵⁶ Grmek (1989) p.69-70 for a review of deformity in a Mycenaean noble, and British skeletons with congenital spinal malformations.

‘intrauterine compression or infantile trauma, not knowing of their genetic determination and paralytic etiology’.⁵⁷ Even though, when a congenital deformity presented itself there would be a reasonable chance it would be recognised, and might be associated with a birth.

The physicians were not ignorant of a variety of conditions as can be seen from the list collected and identified by Graumann of retrospective diagnoses from descriptions of symptoms in physician’s reports. This thesis is not going to be working with physician’s reports, at least not first hand, because the descriptions are in literary sources, either dramatic in the form of satire, or literary as biography, or historiography. These literary descriptions may contain some elements of symptoms but their interest lies in describing the visual signs and appearance which will be discussed in the chapter on the sources for Claudius. Suetonius for example was not a doctor or physician but a man of letters who wrote about the lives of the emperors. Although Suetonius may have been describing Claudius, there is no suggestion he is using physician’s notes, or trying to point towards a specific diagnosis of an illness. It seems as though he was relaying what everyone else could see (at least at some point in Claudius’ life). Suetonius had a formulaic approach and described all the emperors’ characteristics in similar detail where possible - in addition, his interest in physiognomics may have influenced his character assessment/descriptions.

Therefore, using retrospective diagnosis as a method does not follow traditional lines because the thesis will not be working with a physician's description or his opinion of Claudius’ condition in childhood or as an adult. As will be argued later, the whole enterprise is less problematic because the later sources do not offer a diagnosis but rather they say *this is what Claudius looked like*, based on descriptions of others such as Seneca, who was a philosopher and not a physician.⁵⁸ For a contemporary version of the Claudius portrayed in *Apocolocyntosis*, one could imagine a modern news clip showing a man limping along a road who arrives at a gate and waits to speak to the gatekeeper. They have an animated conversation and he goes inside. The viewer will

⁵⁷ Grmek (1989) p.71.

⁵⁸ No source states Claudius had disease X, or his illness was Y, even using ancient terminology.

be expected to have sufficient memory to recall and judge everything on a 30 second video clip. The descriptions of Claudius' condition are therefore concise, short, packed into the minimum amount of space, unlike the detailed descriptions of the symptoms in the physician's reports reproduced in *Epidemics*. Claudius had personal physicians who may well have kept notes or diaries - they are possibly mentioned second-hand and unattributed or are specifically cited for their role in Claudius's death, but their opinion is not referred to directly. Claudius' illness is mentioned in an oblique way so the task in this thesis is to deconstruct the source descriptions and reconstruct them to form a best-fit to known pathology.

A modern concept of disease and etiology provides a contrast to the source descriptions.⁵⁹ Although the sources portray some startling symptoms there is no direct accusation that Claudius was ill rather they indirectly imply that Claudius may have been physically unsuitable to being *princeps*. However, this is not a full-frontal assault, at least no more than some of the other emperors suffered. He may have been unsuitable in some people's eyes and at some point he may have been ailing, but the two versions have been conflated and confused. It is the aim of the thesis to prise apart each source description and demonstrate how they can be re-assembled to promote a sustainable diagnosis. The problem of transferring and deciphering Greek or Latin medical terminology into modern understanding and trying to ensure a comparison of like for like in terms of a diagnosis is less of an issue here, because no source uses such technical terms in respect to Claudius - their interests and their style are literary.

Modern medical terms are used throughout the thesis and their meanings are applied to the sources directly in order to allow symptoms recorded by medical examination or research to be applied to what will be proposed as Claudius' cluster of symptoms

⁵⁹ Graumann (2000) p.67 argues that evidence such as paleopathology, paleoepidemiology, sculpture and iconography should be used. Graumann also explains nosological terminology, explaining the term for an illness and the 'concept of the symptom', giving examples of phrenitis p.88-9, aphonia p.84-5, and cholera p.87-8.

therefore supporting an identification of the disease involved. It should be re-emphasised that terms from modern medicine are not being applied here to ancient terminology, only to evidence extracted from literary descriptions. In respect of a pathocoenosis for poliomyelitis, the proposals of Grmek and others demonstrate a model for its existence in antiquity; as for other diseases, acknowledgement is made of the contribution of other scholars in determining the diseases recorded by ancient physicians. The application of modern pathology does not imply that a particular disease existed in the 1st century AD, particularly as there may be no extant evidence. The task is to consider at least initially, all diseases that may fit the pattern of symptoms and reject them when appropriate by a process of elimination. The aim is to discover or propose the illness that most closely fits the evidence available and to determine whether Claudius' dysfluency was a constituent or consequence of an illness. The hypothesis will be tested that Claudius' stutter was not a direct result of a poliovirus and therefore in any future study it should be considered in isolation and not part of the medical condition. This hypothesis is a very important transition and if established, will affect how Claudius may be interpreted in the future. The potential for research on Claudius' dysfluency and speech is too large and complex a field to be considered here.

An extensive section discussing the sources follows outlining the biographical detail available on Claudius' characteristics. It considers an individual source's style and methodology and highlights relevant aspects that may affect their portrayal of Claudius. Section C deals with the literary sources in chronological order; it reflects the structure of chapter four, and refrains from excess detail on the lives of a source, concentrating instead on giving some context to their literary and historiographical output.

C Lucius Annaeus Seneca was a renowned orator.⁶⁰ It was the one talent which apparently resulted in Gaius being piqued by his success, and this friction with the princeps was compounded when Seneca fell foul of Claudius and was exiled AD41-9.⁶¹ It was while in exile that Seneca contemplated his fate and wrote on the nature of the principate.⁶² Recalled through the persuasion of Agrippina the Younger working on Claudius, he became tutor to Nero, taking on more political influence after AD54 as advisor to the emperor. Seneca's wide-ranging literary output included tragedies, philosophical and ethical works, the collection of fictional *Epistulae morales* and the satirical *Apocolocyntosis*, which parodied Claudius' *apotheosis*.⁶³ The latter work was performed after Claudius' death at the *Saturnalia* in December AD54 where the intended audience included Nero with his *amici* in attendance.⁶⁴ The astringent tone of the work reflects some of the alleged animosity that Seneca felt towards the man who banished him, albeit under pressure from Livia. In direct contrast the panegyric qualities within *ad Polybium* provide a counterweight to the attacks on Claudius that had surfaced in the reign of Nero, although many scholars are hostile to Seneca's flattery of Claudius. If one accepts the arguments for Seneca's authorship⁶⁵ and Dio's statement that Seneca wrote the *Apocolocyntosis*,⁶⁶ then the satire is based on an eyewitness account which gives real value to the descriptions of Claudius. The title becomes relevant in the later chapters analysing Claudius' illness; Eden discusses the etymology of the word, and concludes that by a process of word-building, a play on words between *apotheosis* or 'transformation into a god' and the generic name for a gourd *koloku/nth* (*cucurbita* in Latin), results in two interpretations.⁶⁷ Eden proposes 'metamorphosis into a gourd' or 'transmutation of a gourd'; possible interpretations

⁶⁰ See V Sørensen, *Seneca, The Humanist at the court of Nero* 1984 p.69ff.; M.T.Griffin *Seneca, A Philosopher in Politics*, 1992 p.1-9, discusses 'the Seneca Problem' and the difficulty to date his work because he fails to address current affairs or his position is unclear. Seneca's career up to reign of Nero, see p.29-66.

⁶¹ Dio59.19.3, 'For Gaius always claimed to surpass all the orators, and knowing that his adversary was an extremely gifted speaker, he strove on this occasion to excel him. And he would certainly have put Afer to death, if the latter had entered into the least competition with him', trans.Cary. Sørensen p.12-24; Griffin (1992) p.52-5, 59ff.

⁶² Griffin (1992) p.210-221; Sørensen p.118-21.

⁶³ P.T.Eden ed. *Seneca Apocolocyntosis*, 1999 p.6-8. For a discussion of the title, satire and Menippean satire see Eden p.1-8, 12-17; for a critique of Seneca as the author of *Apocolocyntosis*, see p.8-12.

⁶⁴ Eden (1999) p.4-5 discusses the date of composition, and performance.

⁶⁵ Eden (1999) p.6-8.

⁶⁶ Dio 60.35.2, is the only occurrence of the title, Eden (1999) p.1, 6.

⁶⁷ Eden (1999) p.1.

of the joke are investigated, through vegetables, pumpkins, and gourds concluding that there is some mileage to be had from a dry gourd, and by extension an empty gourd or in other words a 'numbskull'.⁶⁸ It is of note that mature specimens of the *Cucurbita lagenaria* (bottle gourd) look like a round flask or a skittle when dry⁶⁹ and this possibly points to Claudius' looks. It be argued in chapter 6 that one of the long-term results of his illness is a gurgling sound from his throat similar to the liquid pouring from a flask, allowing Seneca to have two bites - Claudius as an empty-headed and round bloated figure who produced a gurgling sound (when he breathed).⁷⁰ It should not be forgotten that Seneca knew Claudius well and there may be unerringly accurate pieces of description. A possible example is the ending of *Apocolocyntosis* where Claudius was sentenced to an eternal punishment of the dice always slipping through the cup, which bears extraordinary similarities to the

⁶⁸ Eden (1999) p.4 has 'numskull' (sic); "gourdification", а-pokoloku/vtwsin see p.1-4.

⁶⁹ Eden (1999) p.4; S.Morton Braund, P James 'Quasi Homo: Distortion and Contortion in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*', *Arethusa* 31.3 (1998) 285-311 see p.299-301 for analysis of the title and reference to Claudius' physical shape and globularity, Epicrates skit on Plato, flatulence as well as his vacuity.

⁷⁰ Braund & James 1998 set out a different argument for interpreting the Claudius painted by Seneca; they focus on the portrayal as a distorted monster, and aim to offer an integrated view of the attack on Claudius with reference to Seneca's *de Clementia*. The authors interpret monstrosity as sub-human or non-human which centres on the deformed and unnatural bordering on the barbaric and the bestial p.277-8. Claudius in *Apocolocyntosis* is a sub-human monster and the image equates with the angry man in *De Ira*, where the principle is a man can't rule others if he can't control himself p.292. (The notion of Claudius as a monster will be discussed in the section on physiognomics in Chapter 4. An additional argument proposes that *Apocolocyntosis* and *de Clementia* (written for Nero) can be interpreted together because they represent both sides of one motif, that the deformed ugly body of Claudius is analogous with his old and ugly regime, which was to be replaced by the young and beautiful Nero, heralding a golden age p.294-5. The meeting with Hercules allows the identification of a monster, 'a strange and indefinable species', and Seneca marvels at Claudius' amazing survival for so long. Braund & James, however, argue for Claudius as a figure of fun who was not meant to be emperor, at least not for long (p.302) – the 'clownish figure who blunders into autocratic rule at the whim of the common soldier is much more appropriate for the satirist and especially colourful when that satirist is creating the atmosphere of carnival time as an historical explanation for the phenomenon that was Claudius' p.303. This argument depends entirely on whether one buys the version accession of Claudius produced by Suetonius. The humour plays on Claudius needing another helping hand from Fortune to make it into Olympus, p.303, but this depends on Fortune and the accession being at least a literary motif. Braund & James assert that *Apocolocyntosis* was very suitable for the *Saturnalia*, where it could celebrate the failure of Claudius' apotheosis, and trumpet his discharge to the shadows - the Carnival king is deposed, and they argue that his physical form is crucial. They conclude that 'Seneca uses the distortion and contortion of Claudius' body - both his ugliness and misshapeness, his failure to control his speech and gestures and, his farting and defecation - for a broader ideological purpose: to condemn him and his reign as ethically and politically flawed. The monstrous body of this buffoon emperor symbolises the chaos that he brought to the running of the state. His reign has been a temporary glitch, a Saturnalian interlude with something of the Bakhtinian carnival about it. Yet the carnival is no joyous, fertile release of inhibitions, but a chaotic and terrifying nightmare, the end of which the *Apocolocyntosis* celebrates by sending this empty, broken and ephemeral body to the darkness of the underworld and by welcoming the advent of the beautiful, young, god-like emperor Nero', p.308-9.

frustration felt by a stutterer using an avoidance strategy such as word-substitution. The sense of constantly having one's desire slipping through one's fingers should not be underestimated - it is particularly appropriate as a punishment. It should not be assumed that Seneca's satire is totally anti-Claudius; even when one considers the audience it was written for, it would be risky to pull one's punches. There seems to be a personal awareness and recognition in the portrayal. This may be put into stark relief by a connection to the virtue most associated with Claudius – *Constantia*. This was one virtue which was specifically used only by Claudius and one which may be connected to his dysfluent speech. Seneca would be well aware of that, but it also produces a more sympathetic ending than has otherwise been allowed by scholarship that has concentrated on the negativity of the Neronian regime. This is an area that warrants further study and evaluation.

Vespasian bestowed Roman citizenship on Flavius Josephus and provided him with a regular income and lodgings in an imperial residence that allowed him to start writing history.⁷¹ The seven books of *The Jewish War* were first, followed by the more substantial *Antiquities* consisting of twenty books, telling history of the Jews up to the revolt of AD66 finishing in the reign Domitian in AD94.⁷² The assassination of Gaius is discussed in both works, only briefly in the former, but there are two painstaking versions in *Antiquities*. Wiseman looks at the sources Josephus would have used in addition to his own account: Cluvius Rufus, Fabius Rusticus (the Stoic friend of Seneca) and Pliny the Elder. Wiseman argues against a single Roman source drawn on by Josephus for *Antiquities* promoting instead a theory of a main source plus a diametrically opposed and hostile second source. Following Mommsen, the ex-consul Cluvius Rufus is identified as the main source, while Fabius Rusticus is the second source. It is the concept of the main author looking back at the assassination and the aftermath through Nero's reign and the Civil War of AD68-9

⁷¹ T.P. Wiseman *The Death of an Emperor*, 1991, p.ix; cites Josephus' autobiography *Vita*.12. For a detailed account of Josephus education see T.Rajak, *Josephus, The Historian and his Society*, Duckworth 1983 p.14ff. and p.78-103 on Josephus' interpretation of the causes of the Jewish revolt; also chapter on the use of Josephus as a single source for the Revolt, analysing the attacks on Josephus as a historian ch.5.

⁷² Wiseman (1991) p.xi; Rajak ch.8.

that resonates.⁷³ What is of real value for this study is that 'Josephus stuck pretty closely to his Roman sources (even traces of their Latin may sometimes be detected in his Greek). But he did not simply transcribe them. He added explanatory notes for his non-Roman audience'.⁷⁴ Josephus was aiming to give an exact account of the assassination, which Wiseman compares to Thucydides; the intention was not only to provide proof of God, but consolation for those suffering from the fact that good fortune that is not inexhaustible, but requires to be coupled with virtue. If it is misused, it would result in despair.⁷⁵ This helps set out what Josephus was writing as it reduces the probability of there being intentional hostility towards Claudius, unless possibly via Fabius Rusticus. The antagonism was directed towards Gaius, and Josephus has preserved a singularly Roman and authentic view of the rise in the importance of the army. Tacitus stated this had been incorporated into *SPQR*, to now mean the Senate, People and army,⁷⁶ hence the focus on the debates and movements of the soldiers on the Palatine after the murder of Gaius. The result is that the account may be "neutral" towards Claudius and reports him as a pawn in the rise to prominence of the Praetorians - for this reason one can examine whether he is a credible candidate. Josephus is a useful source for the reasons outlined above, the patronage of the Flavians (where Vespasian and Titus had been associated with Claudius)⁷⁷ and, because of his criticism of sources overtly hostile to Nero, he may allow some form of balance in the study of Claudius accession.

The life of Juvenal is shrouded in mystery (to the extent that even his name Decimus Iunius Iuuenalis is uncertain)⁷⁸ and the conclusion drawn by scholars is that the

⁷³ Wiseman (1991) p.xiii-xiv, and n21-23; also see the table p.xiii sets out which sections of *Antiquities* XIX were provided by Josephus, Cluvius Rufus, and the second source(s); (Note that Syme suggested Servilius Nonianus as a source see n20). Rajak p. 199n36 only mentions both in relation to histories of Domitian's reign.

⁷⁴ Wiseman (1991) p.xiv.

⁷⁵ Wiseman (1991) p.xiv; Jos.*Ant.*XIX.15.

⁷⁶ Wiseman (1991) p.xiv, n27 charts the changes and cites Tac.*Ann.*I.7, XIV.11; *Hist.*I.4. In addition Wiseman considers the lessons the readers would take, and homes in on the triumph of brute force over the civilian government, and how the idealistic plan to restore the senate 'had no chance against the Praetorians and their puppet emperor'.

⁷⁷ Suet.*Vesp.*IV; *Titus.*II; B.Levick, *Vespasian*, 1999 p.15ff.

⁷⁸ S.Morton Braund,, *Juvenal Satires* 1996 p.15-16. N.Rudd, W. Barr ed. & introduction, *Juvenal Satires*, Oxford 1991, p.xii. suggests AD60 and *Satire* 5 AD>100<112, *Satire* 6 c.AD117, *Satire* 14 c.AD130. Also see Braund (1996) p.16. See Rudd & Barr p.x, for Highet's attempt at a reconstruction

scholiast produced a story 'needed to supply a biographical background to a virtually unknown author and to account for the bitterness of his tone'.⁷⁹ Juvenal used verse satire, a Roman genre that existed alongside prose satire (Menippean satire), which had developed from the diatribe found in the Hellenistic philosophical schools.⁸⁰ The characteristics of Juvenal's satire are anger, rhetoric and epic and he is regarded as an 'angry champion of morality'.⁸¹ Anger is the vehicle for criticism where he uses rhetoric and epic to produce fulminating attacks. Ferguson notes that while there is little laughter in Juvenal's satires there is a deep morality, and so the object of his hostility is daily life in Rome that has not attained his high ethical standards.⁸² Juvenal wrote sixteen satires that were grouped in five books and published at different times - it was not a single coherent production. Any attack launched on the rule of Domitian, or even the reign of Nerva or Trajan, required tact on the part of the author. Juvenal states he will attack the dead not the living, but one interpretation is that 'Juvenal makes it clear he is attacking the living under the likeness of the dead'⁸³ and *Satire 1*, for example, attacks the dishonesty and seediness found in Rome ruled by Trajan.⁸⁴ Juvenal's skill is to be able to create striking visual images in very few words and Ferguson gives examples of street scenes⁸⁵ and the cameo of Messalina.⁸⁶ The subject Juvenal typically chooses to attack is the aristocracy and he launches attacks on 'luxuria, on excess, and cruelty, and sexual indulgence, and greed, and indifference to others, and triviality'.⁸⁷ Satire needs some form of exaggeration to work, except Juvenal 'not infrequently abuses this licence, both in the grossly

of Juvenal's life see G Highet *Juvenal The Satirist, A Study* 1954 p.40-1. J.Ferguson *Juvenal The Satires*, 1979 p.xvi for *CIL X* 5382 inscription from Aquinum that states Juvenal's name as commander of cohort of Delmatari, and Ferguson also argues for the unconvincing nature of the narrative on Juvenal.

⁷⁹ Rudd & Barr (1991) p.xii; Braund (1996) p.16.

⁸⁰ Braund (1996) p.3-5, cites Diomedes' comment 'Satire is the name of the Roman form of poetry that is nowadays abusive and composed to critics the vices of men in the manner of Old Comedy, such as was written by Lucilius and Horace and Persius', for their influence on Juvenal see p.7-15, and Rudd & Barr p.ix. Also see Ferguson (1979) p.xii-xv for Ennius, Lucilius, Varro, Horace, Seneca and Petronius.

⁸¹ Braund (1996) p.17-24, who states the factors are indignation, rhetoric and epic where anger is shaped by the latter *topoi*.

⁸² Ferguson (1979) p.xix.

⁸³ Ferguson (1979) p.xix.

⁸⁴ Ferguson (1979) p.xx; Braund 1996 p.30-6 discusses the busy metropolis of Rome and all the constituent problems of the aristocracy and corruption at the heart of the empire as seen by Juvenal.

⁸⁵ Ferguson (1979) p.xxi, *Juv Sat.* 1.22-80, 124, 155; 3.243-8, 291-9.

⁸⁶ Ferguson (1979) p.xxii, *Juv.Sat.* 6.115-35.

⁸⁷ Ferguson (1979) p.xxii.

overdrawn caricatures he presents of individuals like his particular bugbear Crispinus, and in unabashed misrepresentation'.⁸⁸ Furthermore he produces wildly exaggerated descriptions of Rome 'but it is all magnificent stuff provided it is not accepted as gospel'.⁸⁹

Cornelius Tacitus claimed that as Domitian's rule had descended into fear and tyranny, it wrecked his career and 'for Tacitus, Domitian was a microcosm of the century of empire, and his own relation to Domitian becomes the model for the relations of the senate with emperors since Augustus: collaboration, resentment, hatred'.⁹⁰ Tacitus' account of Tiberius does not disguise his intense dislike of a man he considered a tyrant and so his version of Tiberius' principate demonstrates the lack of *moderatio*, the middle way, that someone like Trajan was noted for.⁹¹ In the account of Tiberius, Tacitus writes of a well-run and efficient early principate which became seriously derailed when the emperor retired to Capri – 'Tacitus paints a picture of paranoid politics and moral depravity, but he also allows us to see Tiberius as a wounded husband, a bullied son, and a friendless and lonely man'.⁹² Tacitus' account of Claudius' principate is missing the early years AD41-6 which probably would have had a more positive gloss than later; by AD47 Claudius is represented as being under the direction of his wives and freedmen – Tacitus, ever the conservative, disparaged Claudius for not controlling either Messalina or Agrippina and so this version of his later years is particularly bleak and scathing,⁹³ a parallel to the Tacitean depiction of Tiberius.

⁸⁸ Rudd & Barr (1992) p..xvii.

⁸⁹ Rudd & Barr (1992) p..xvii. Braund 1996 p.24-9 examines the range of Juvenal's style in *Satires* 1-5 from (A) Grand Style to (Y) paradox and oxymoron.

⁹⁰ R. Mellor *Tacitus* (1993) p.8 and n9; Tac.*Agric.*3. The date of composition of the *Annals* is taken as being finished in AD117 p.28; or AD114/5 with last books written around AD120 in Hadrian's principate, *OCD*³;

⁹¹ Mellor (1993) p.8; Not all of the *Annals* sixteen books have survived, and the first six books cover the principate of Tiberius AD14-37, with a gap in book five from AD29-31, to be continued in books 11-16 from AD47 in Claudius' reign, to Nero in AD66 (Mellor p.23); number depends on whether four or six books for Nero, therefore could be eighteen books, *OCD*³. Therefore the account of Gaius' rule AD37-41 is missing and Claudius and Nero are incomplete.

⁹² Mellor (1993) p.25.

⁹³ Mellor (1993) p.25.

The sources Tacitus used have provoked debate, and there is the view that because of similarities from Book 6 onwards to Suetonius and Dio there is a case for a common source.⁹⁴ However, it is likely that he used appropriate sources and material from *acta senatus*, Claudian records such as the Lyon speech on the admission of Gallic senators,⁹⁵ or senatorial business mixed with other texts of speeches.⁹⁶ Tacitus does not name any of his sources for Claudius, and the possibility he used a single source for the *Annals* seems unlikely. Candidates range from Cluvius Rufus and Pliny the Elder to Aufidius Bassus and Fabius Rusticus, but in general Tacitus normally kept sources anonymous.⁹⁷ Syme discusses that Cluvius Rufus is the source for the assassination of Gaius in AD41, and in conjunction with the consular Servilius Nonianus, they may have been used by Tacitus as a source for Tiberius and Gaius; further Syme argues that Aufidius Bassus could be a source for Tacitus' missing sections of the early principate of Claudius.⁹⁸

The *Annals* is a narrative history for which Tacitus creates a structure to examine or demonstrate the themes that resonate in his own time – the rise of tyranny, and the decline in morality in Rome, (meaning the morality of the senate, the people and the legions - *SPQR*).⁹⁹ Imperial tyranny and weakness in the senate are compared unfavourably to the noble barbarians in the wilds of the north who fight for honour and freedom.¹⁰⁰ The attack on Tiberius illustrates the Tacitean pattern of initial imperial abstinence and restraint sliding into luxury and wantonness where 'tyranny is accompanied by informers, manipulative freedmen, treason trials and universal

⁹⁴ *OCD*³ p.1470.

⁹⁵ *Tac. Ann.* XI.24; Syme (1958) p.295 and n2-8; The speech at Lyon in AD48 (Smallwood 369; *ILS* 212), is rewritten by Tacitus and this has created much discussion amongst scholars such as Syme, Martin, Levick and below – this will not be commented on here except to say that Tacitus uses this speech to demonstrate Claudius' independence and his progressive or reforming nature, for a brief introduction to the debate see Martin p.147-150; K. Wellesley 'Can you trust Tacitus?' *Greece & Rome* 1 (1954) 13ff.; N.P. Miller 'The Claudian tablet and Tacitus: a Reconsideration, *RhM* 99 (1956) 304ff.

⁹⁶ Syme (1958) p.295 n11-13 cites examples at *Tac. Ann.* XII.22f., 52f.

⁹⁷ Martin 1981 p.207 discusses sources for Claudius; for second hexad containing Claudius and Nero Syme 1954 p.287ff; Mellor 1993 p.31-4.

⁹⁸ Syme (1958) p.288.

⁹⁹ Mellor (1996) p.26.

¹⁰⁰ Mellor (1996) p.26 cites Arminius, Sacrovir, Boudicca.

paranoia: despotism, sycophancy, and treachery form the web that ties together the whole of the *Annals*'.¹⁰¹

Tacitus' version of Claudius also fits into the author's framework. The moral decline of the imperial court around Claudius and his increasing paranoia were to end, ironically, in the murder of the *princeps* on account of the schemes of Agrippina.¹⁰² There are some positive aspects in Tacitus' opinion – Claudius' administrative and legislative skills do not pass unnoticed and the comparison of Julio-Claudian orators is telling - Nero is chastised by Tacitus for being the only emperor not to write his own speeches, while Claudius' speech is described as more than passable:

'Even C.Caesar's disturbed mind did not ruin his power of speech; nor in Claudius' case, whenever he held forth on prepared material, would you have wanted for elegance'.¹⁰³

This is important evidence about Claudius' speech; it is a section where Tacitus groups Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius together, as at the very least competent and articulate orators, unlike Nero who needed the support of Seneca's eloquence. Tacitus' opinion, based upon his source(s), can be added to the letters from Augustus about Claudius ability to declaim, 'Confound me, dear Livia, if I am not surprised that your grandson Tiberius could please me with his declaiming. How in the world anyone who is so unclear in his conversation can speak with clearness and propriety when he declaims, is more than I can see'.¹⁰⁴

These two factors – the written evidence from Augustus and Tacitus on the ability to deliver a speech – mean Claudius' dysfluency or difficulty speaking was not a permanent or a constant issue. He could speak fluently, enough to be clear and

¹⁰¹ Mellor (1996) p.26.

¹⁰² Tac.*Ann.*X.II.66-7.

¹⁰³ Tac.*Ann.*XIII.3.2, trans Woodman.

¹⁰⁴ Suet.*Claud.*IV.6, trans Rolfe.

understood, and therefore a congenital disease where speech defects are permanent should be ruled out. For this study, the hypothesis to be tested at a later date is that Claudius had a stutter and an illness, but it is because of Tacitus' evidence that the stutter itself should be examined at a later date in a further study.

Under Trajan and Hadrian, C. Suetonius Tranquillus held three important offices – *a studiis, a bibliothecis* and appointed by Hadrian *ab epistulis*, the Chief Secretary¹⁰⁵ – although he was dismissed from office along with the Praetorian Prefect.¹⁰⁶ The 'Lives of the Caesars', *de vita Caesarum*, has survived nearly intact and these imperial biographies stretch from Julius Caesar to Domitian. Each one is arranged thematically and not chronologically. There is deterioration in length, documentation, use of full names, quality and style as the *Lives* progress and they are classified in three distinct groups – Caesar and Augustus, Tiberius to Nero and the Flavians.¹⁰⁷ This has led to questions being raised as to when they were written and which books coincided with Suetonius being removed from office and having less access to official documents, although most speeches and documents were already part of the public record,¹⁰⁸ but that he was also careful to use documents accurately and could research the palace records when necessary.¹⁰⁹ Suetonius used narrative histories from the first century as well as Claudius' own work, oral tradition and his own memory.¹¹⁰ Suetonius was to use the Flavian historians Pliny the Elder and Cluvius Rufus who were less hostile to Claudius than they were towards Nero – Vespasian needed his new non-Julian principate anointed via the connection to Claudius.¹¹¹ Hurley points out the difficulty for these writers, Claudius'

¹⁰⁵ Hurley (2001) p.3 and n8 discusses the inscription from Hippo outlining Suetonius' career, published in 1953; see p.3 and n10 for arguments regarding a long or short career path; military tribune arranged by Pliny in AD102, Pliny *Ep.*3.8

¹⁰⁶ Hurley (2001) p.4 cites SHA.*Hadr.*11.3 and the date of dismissal could range from AD122 to after AD128.

¹⁰⁷ Hurley (2001) p.8.

¹⁰⁸ Hurley (2001) p.8. Hurley argues that Tacitus *Annals* had left a gap in the market by omitting Caesar and Augustus which is why Suetonius' *Lives* of both men are as substantial compared to the other emperors.

¹⁰⁹ Hurley (2001) p.9 and n32-36; A Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius, The scholar and his Caesars*, 1983, p.88ff.

¹¹⁰ Hurley(2001) p.7; for use of personal reminiscences see Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p.3, 62, 65.

¹¹¹ Hurley (2001) p.14-16 and n48 for references to discussions by scholars on Suetonius' sources. Note that Fabius Rusticus is not considered a source for Claudius' reign, but writes of Nero.

achievements were easy to report but it was harder to avoid his *stultitia* and *saevitia*. He emphasises that they were fixed in his reputation¹¹² but that this had been buttressed by the attempts of Nero to blacken Claudius' name.¹¹³

In contrast to Tacitus, Suetonius wrote 'non-history';¹¹⁴ biography is not history *per se* because 'as the role played by the individual in his society varies, so does the historical component in his life'.¹¹⁵ The problem becomes worse when the individual concerned plays a pivotal role in a particular period. Wallace-Hadrill contends that to combat the problem of biography becoming a 'biography of history' Suetonius decided to write *non-history*; 'His Caesars can be defined as much by the options he avoids as by those he embraces. To view it as a sort of alternative history, let alone a misfired history, is a temptation that must be resisted at all costs'.¹¹⁶

Suetonius engineered a structure to handle the information he collected, a chronological arrangement not defined by a calendar, but defined by the rhythm of human biology¹¹⁷ it moved from describing an emperor's ancestors and birth, through the major events before becoming *princeps*,¹¹⁸ to a death narrative. Suetonius then employed rubrics to categorise the 'facts' he had assembled.¹¹⁹ These are outlined as dealing with the public aspects of an emperor, generosity to the people, administrative style, military achievement or non-achievement and the

¹¹² Hurley (2001) p.15.

¹¹³ Suet.*Nero*.XXXIII.1 and Nero 'disregarded many of his (Claudius') decrees and acts as the work of a madman and a dotard', trans. Rolfe.

¹¹⁴ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p8-9; Hurley (2001) p.8-9 and n31.

¹¹⁵ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p.8.

¹¹⁶ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p.9.

¹¹⁷ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p.11.

¹¹⁸ Hurley (2001) p.18-19. A clear example of the structure and rubrics used by Suetonius for 'bad' emperors is outlined in B.H.Warmington *Suetonius Nero*, 1977 p.10-11, and for 'good' emperors the division is between public and private aspects see Hurley p.18; Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p.11-12 for Suetonius using descriptions of character traits and the use of narrative description including the then fashionable death narrative, while rejecting historical narrative. For Claudius Suetonius combines both factors of 'good' aspects undercut by 'bad'.

¹¹⁹ Hurley (2001) p.18.

private aspects of appearance, habits and character.¹²⁰ This study has a particular interest in the private aspects.¹²¹

Suetonius shows Claudius as a capable ruler but then does an about-turn and declares the wives and freedmen were liable for all his deeds. Hurley claims Suetonius concluded that if they were liable for the cruel and vicious acts, then they were also responsible for the good ones and leaving Claudius as a puppet ruler.¹²² Claudius is therefore shown to be accountable and not accountable for everything, and when added to the negative characteristics in Suetonius' account,¹²³ it creates a paradox, one that will not allow a true reconciliation because of the Suetonius' reliance on the literary and oral tradition that carry both sides of the portrait. The problem Suetonius encountered is one that scholars in the twentieth century also failed to resolve satisfactorily.

Cassius Dio, a Bithynian senator in the late second century,¹²⁴ served under some rather unpleasant characters in Rome such as Commodus, Pertinax and Didius Julianus and this led Millar to suggest their distasteful activities may have adversely influenced Dio's view of imperial rule.¹²⁵ Furthermore, after the death of the enlightened Severus in AD211, the actions of the brutal Caracalla and the rule of the

¹²⁰ Hurley (2001) p.18, although Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p.13 argues that the term *rubric* denotes the product not the method, and 'Suetonius characteristic process is analysis; the dissolution of narrative into fragments, and their reconstitution under heads of analysis'.

¹²¹ See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p.10-19 for a full discussion of Suetonius' use of structure and the subject matter. Also see J.M.Carter *Suetonius Divus Augustus*, 1982 p.2-8.

¹²² Hurley (2001) p.17, who adds 'The solution makes senses, but an implausible Claudius emerges, the biography is coherent at the expense of its subject'.

¹²³ See intro n1.

¹²⁴ J.W.R.Rich *Cassius Dio The Augustan Settlement* 1990 p.1 and n1-2; F.Millar *Cassius Dio* 1964 p.8-9. and n1, also argues for the evidence pointing to one powerful family of *Cassii* who had connections to Rome in 1st century; cites Tac.*Ann.*16.33; and Dio 62.26.2 for the restoration of property. Discussion of names leads from Cassius Dio Cocceianus p.11, while *OCD*³ p.299 claims Lucius Cassius Dio citing a Military Diploma, and also possible insertion in error (?) of Kl. for Claudius, see Rich (1990) p.1 n1.

¹²⁵ Millar (1964) p.16-7; *OCD*³ p.299. and referring to Severus, 'The mild course of the new ruler at the outset of his reign, taken in connexion with his past record, was such as to win the enthusiastic admiration of Dio and to encourage in him the hope that a new era was now dawning', E.Cary introduction to *Dio Cassius Roman History*, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/Introduction*.html 12/06/05.

errant Elagabalus were hardly exemplary,¹²⁶ and these perverse characters may well have added to an already disaffected outlook.

Having written about the civil disorder and chaos after the death of Commodus, Dio embarked upon writing a Roman History from foundation of the city to the death of Severus. It took ten years to collect the material and information needed, and another twelve years to write the eighty books.¹²⁷ Dio's methodology has been both criticised and defended by scholars – 'it is true that he is often slapdash and inaccurate, and that both his thought and his style seldom rise above the mediocre. But he drew on a range of sources, and in shaping and adapting them contributed much of his own'.¹²⁸ In contrast Rich claims Dio is not just a narrator but also an interpretative historian who moulds his material.¹²⁹ The theory is that Dio used one of the annalistic historians as source for long sections with additional material inserted from other writers and for the purpose of this thesis how he covered the Republican era is of less importance. He used an annalistic structure for each emperor with biographical details included,¹³⁰ each year covering the events in Rome and those occurring outside. The argument for a single source has practical elements and Millar argues for similarities between Dio and Suetonius, and although not proven there are correlations.¹³¹ Dio probably wrote up notes from a single source, reducing superfluous details such as lists of names or dates and editing information he judged

¹²⁶ In a parallel to Claudius, Caracalla was also born in Lyon, and also portrayed as ruthless and cruel, but unlike Claudius this was as a result of sibling rivalry. He had his brother Geta and his supporters murdered in a bloodbath that would stain Caracalla's reign.

¹²⁷ Rich (1990) p2-6 and n24 for Dio 72.23.5; books 36-54 (68-10BC) are complete and the Books 55-60 (9BC-AD46) and Books 79-80 are either fragments or epitomes; see Millar (1964) p.1-4 for a discussion of the Byzantine Excerpts of Xiphilinus and Zonaras.

¹²⁸ Rich (1990) p.5.

¹²⁹ Rich (1990) p.5.

¹³⁰ Rich (1990) p.8-9 outlines the format for Augustus; Millar (1964) p.93ff. discusses the 'political turning point' of Augustus' principate, and p.74, 98-9 for Dio in considering types of constitution, monarchy, democracy and dynastic, for Augustus avoiding the title king, and describing the powers of the emperors in 53.2-19; he employs a similar survey of administrative affairs as part of the biographical details, Millar (1964) p.99-100; Rich (1990) p13-18 for Dio's account of the transition from Republic to monarchy.

¹³¹ Millar (1964) p.86.

to be irrelevant, and this process may have been influenced by his senatorial background.¹³²

A further consideration is Dio's reliance on the intervention of the gods or Fortune to explain events and 'that human affairs were under supernatural direction'.¹³³ Rich cites examples of the work of God to be Caesar's murder (48.1.1) or the fire of AD80 (66.24.3) and also rationalised actions or events by reporting a prodigy which he links to the event as an explanation.¹³⁴

Dio's speeches are inventions, but they are regarded as having a dramatic function in explaining a particular difficulty facing the empire. He also included his own vision as to how he thought it should be ruled.¹³⁵ Overall he judged emperors on the values he possessed himself as a provincial and member of the senate, such as the imperial virtue of *clementia*,¹³⁶ and he set out how they either reached his expectations or failed to match them.¹³⁷

Dio set himself a monumental task. To collect all the information took ten years, and then he had to go back to the beginning and write up the notes. As Millar comments, there is much to admire that the undertaking was completed at all and if some details were omitted, this becomes perfectly understandable considering the scale of the task. Problems arise in identifying his sources, as Dio mentions reading Livy, Sallust, Arrian and Plutarch, for example, but does not cite them directly.¹³⁸ In addition he

¹³² Rich (1990) p.8

¹³³ Rich (1990) p.12 and n61.

¹³⁴ Rich (1990) p.12, also the gods gave men knowledge of what was to come by portents and omens, for list of citations see p.12 and n63-4.

¹³⁵ Rich (1990) p.11-2; Millar (1964) p.78-83; an example is Maecenas's speech to Augustus that 'combines an analysis of the problems facing Augustus and of the imperial system as it evolved under the emperors', *OCD*³ p.300.

¹³⁶ Rich (1990) p.16.

¹³⁷ *OCD*³ p.300.

¹³⁸ Millar (1964) p.34-5; Dio 53.19 and discussion of nature of republican and imperial sources, where for the former everything was known publicly set out before SPQR, and for the the empire all the significant business was done out of sight in the court with imperial advisors and *amici*, see p.37.

could have used eyewitnesses for the more recent history as well as documentary or epigraphic evidence. Only once, over the span of eighty books and nearly a thousand years, does Dio comment on the nature of his source. Millar makes the point that Dio was writing a new type of history, a literary history, and composing one 'on the basis of accepted facts'.¹³⁹ Of all the sources, Cassius Dio is the least satisfactory for this examination because of his chronological distance from the subject, the methodology he employed and because what he was trying to produce did not require exacting accuracy in the final result. Dio has not produced a facsimile of Claudius, nor has he produced a caricature – he has produced a portrait that from a distance looks representative of an image of Claudius, but on close inspection is like a jigsaw with pieces missing and with some pieces jammed in the wrong hole.

D The life of the emperor Claudius 10BC - AD54 is reported in the ancient sources as fraught with intellectual and physical complications. Central to dealing with these issues is the need to understand not just the direct factors of illness and disease but also the context of the life replayed by the sources. Without the framework of context it only becomes harder to find a way through the historians' thorny constructions of the man. The introduction has provided the framework that will lie behind all the chapters, supplying information on the physical structure of the thesis, on the nature of disability, and the study of disease. This section adds personal facets to that background framework.

Claudius played out his life against a backdrop of internecine intrigue, political upheaval and senatorial decline and the biographical and historiographical details reproduced by the sources allow the scenery to be rendered, as well as fleshing out the central character. Understanding both factors, the background and the portrait, helps to isolate the characteristics that are important for this study. He was born into a patrician family, the *Nerones*, who claimed a distinguished Republican lineage as

¹³⁹ Millar (1964) p.38.

part of the *gens Claudii*. Claudius' mother was Antonia *minor*, a daughter of the *triumvir* Mark Antony, while his father, Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, had been adopted alongside Tiberius into the imperial family by Augustus. This automatically sets Claudius apart from other family members; in practical terms he is both outside and within two distinct political groups – the imperial family and the patriciate, the *Julii* and the *Claudii*. Claudius therefore has stellar family connections to the two opposing sides of the bitter civil war that ended when Augustus (as Octavian) defeated Antony at Actium in 31BC. It is these family ties that bind the protagonists together as they vie for position within the Julio-Claudian family. Claudius suffered various childhood ailments that distinguished him further from his incredibly popular older brother Germanicus, who was adopted by Tiberius acting under instruction from Augustus. The manoeuvring within the *Julii* resulted in Claudius being marginalised, if only because he was not officially a member of the imperial family. On one hand this seems strange when his paternal grandmother Livia was married to Augustus, but if the dynastic musical chairs were only to ensure the succession then there was no pressing need for Claudius to be adopted as well. The downside though, is that Germanicus' adoption by Augustus removes his connection to the despised and defeated Antony. Claudius never had this advantage; he remained an outsider.

According to Suetonius, as Claudius was growing up his reported health problems were severe enough for Augustus to worry about Claudius' future employment in some unspecified imperial office.¹⁴⁰ Augustus, ever worried about image projection, judged something was awry enough for Claudius to be sidelined – the reason given being to prevent ridicule being heaped upon the young man. This reticence on Augustus' part either refers to the adolescent's stutter, some physical malady or even a deformity. Spending the reign of Tiberius AD14-37 barred from a magistracy of any sort and from public service (except for some minor priesthoods), Claudius set to work in an academic backwater yet he was still visible enough to be popular in Rome with the equestrian class. There seems to be some inconsistency in these reports because Augustus felt it would be hazardous to allow Claudius to do anything that

¹⁴⁰ Suet.*Claud.*IV.1-7.

had any possibility of making the youngster a laughing stock in public and, by default, show Augustus in a bad light. There was enough of a risk for Augustus to contemplate Claudius being kept away from the imperial box at the Circus.¹⁴¹ If Claudius had presence enough to be called upon to represent the *equites*, then the idea that he would be, or could be, ridiculed on a constant basis is questionable. This also raises the possibility that there were times or long periods when no symptoms of illness were visible. When Gaius succeeded Tiberius in AD37, Claudius was given one of the great offices of state, the consulship, alongside the young emperor, and later would give his opinion last among the consulars.¹⁴² This again is a mystery if Claudius was so infirm and so mentally inferior.

In AD41 Gaius was murdered in Rome by the Praetorian Guard, the imperial bodyguard. The established and orthodox version of the accession is that Claudius was found hiding behind a curtain and had to be dragged out to be acclaimed emperor by the waiting troops stationed in Rome. Claudius ruled until AD54 and the populist version, or the one produced for public consumption, tells that he was poisoned by his fourth wife Agrippina and then deified by his adopted son and successor Nero. Both of these stories betray a negative projection of Claudius' principate, hinting at a consistent position that his principate was ridiculous and entirely dependent on the actions of others for its beginning and end.

The principate of Claudius is reported in the sources as a paradox in personal and practical terms; one certainly reputed as efficient in terms of practical and good legislation, but one whose failings were due to Claudius being under the control of his invidious freedmen and his repellent wives.¹⁴³ According to the sources the excesses of Claudius' reign were due to his lack of moral fibre and a lack of intellect, a combination which allowed his wives and freedmen free rein over Rome. Seneca,

¹⁴¹ Suet. *Claud.* IV .3.

¹⁴² Suet. *Claud.* IX.2.

¹⁴³ Suet. *Claud.* XXIX. ff.

Suetonius and Dio constantly bring the inappropriateness of Claudius' behaviour to the reader's attention, where foolishness, folly and cruelty are the order of the day.

Some hostility built up in the senate to the proposals to extend the franchise of Roman citizenship. The proposition laid out in the Lyon speech of AD48, shows part of Claudius' reforming aims and that they were harnessed to his 'semi-Republican' conservative outlook. The sources homed in on this aspect of reform and then proceeded to pillory Claudius for 'antiquarianism'. The distinct lack of public monumental building projects, except for the triumphal arches for Germanicus and Claudius' own triumph for conquering Britain in AD43,¹⁴⁴ demonstrates a degree of restraint in terms of personal image projection compared to other emperors. Enormous resources were targeted to great public building projects such as aqueducts, roads and the harbour at Ostia (which would aid the transportation of the grain supply, a special concern of Claudius). The sources use the execution of thirty-five senators and over three hundred equestrians to establish Claudius' ruthlessness, cruelty and indifference; Seneca and Tacitus lay the blame squarely at the feet of the freedmen so it is an indirect assault on Claudius. On one hand, a sideswipe at Claudius' ineffectual control over his household because of his lack of mental sharpness and on the other, an accusation of a Claudius displaying a certain relish in death and destruction, coldly wrecking the political fabric of Rome.

The man who ruled Rome from AD41-54 was depicted as having health problems from childhood, and the sources basically imply that these ailments continued into adulthood. Claudius had difficulty walking, he had a disgusting laugh and a strange sounding voice; his nose ran and he was quick to anger; and he had a stutter - it is important to note that Seneca, who produced the only extant first hand account of Claudius, includes the stutter as the central element of his picture of the *princeps* in the *Apocolocyntosis*.¹⁴⁵ It is striking that the other sources only include it as an aside which has no real significance in their account, probably because none of them had

¹⁴⁴ F. Card Bourne, *The Public Works of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians* 1946 see p 42-8.

¹⁴⁵ See chapter 3.

heard Claudius speak. Claudius had been a sickly child and became a sickly and weak *princeps*. The portrait of sick, pedantic and foolish Claudius is not what one would expect for an emperor.

E The basic premise of scholarship on Claudius is that he might have been a physically infirm dribbling fool, who might or might not have some form of learning difficulties and who needed the help of his wives and staff to manage affairs; but (conversely) he was a more than competent emperor who reigned from AD41-54. Can these two sides of the equation co-exist? How can the person described in relentlessly negative terms be emperor of Rome? This was the man chosen during a power vacuum in Rome after the murder of the incumbent emperor when the prospect of a bloody civil war was very real. There is a reasonable prospect that Claudius was not as he was characterised by hostile sources, but there must be some truth in the depiction otherwise nobody, especially the audience of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, would recognise the description as being Claudius.

The orthodoxies are in tension and the narratives are irreconcilable - the accounts simply cannot co-exist. Traditional scholarship, for example Momigliano, Scramuzza or Levick,¹⁴⁶ has been aware of this paradox but the problem has not been satisfactorily resolved in a way that makes sense of the sources, imperial culture and modern medicine. These studies of Claudius' principate depict an enlightened ruler, a man who understood the law and who could frame legislation that worked - he understood the machinery of government. Therefore the picture of a King of Fools does not sit well alongside the evidence of an erudite and capable ruler; scholars have attempted to redress the balance but have failed to reconcile the two sides. This

¹⁴⁶ A.Momigliano, *Claudius : the emperor and his achievement*, 1961; V.M. Scramuzza, *The emperor Claudius*, 1940; B. Levick, *Claudius*, 1990, who proposed cerebral palsy as a diagnosis for Claudius' illness from childhood.

thesis offers a resolution, not in the form of a biography but in an assessment of aspects of Claudius' life in a chronological order.

The influence of Seneca on the reception of Claudius should not go unremarked, and the correlation between patronage, literature, politics and 'climbing the greasy-pole' should not be underestimated; the rewards of these relationships is seen in the reign of Nero.¹⁴⁷ The combination of art and propaganda approaches a zenith under Neronian patronage.¹⁴⁸ The *Apocolocyntosis* is a startling piece of Neronian propaganda – one that establishes a Neronian ideology from the beginning of his reign.¹⁴⁹ Seneca set out Claudius' inappropriate leadership, laid out the senatorial victims of his regime, and described misrule that was far from the Augustan model; it was the latter Nero promised to revisit.¹⁵⁰ Nero had hijacked an Augustan theme of a Golden Age returning to the world demonstrated by the poet Calpurnius Siculus, and was in direct contrast to the accusation of Claudius' mishandling of the lawcourts and the senate.¹⁵¹ In an ironic departure from the later *Apocolocyntosis*, the exile of Seneca to Corsica for the alleged affair with Julia Livilla, resulted in the letter (AD43) to Claudius' freedman Polybius after the death of his brother. It is in the *Consolatio ad Polybium* that Seneca's flattery of the emperor and Polybius goes into overdrive.¹⁵² Eventually this is followed by overt attacks on Claudius' character by pinpointing his anger in *De Ira*¹⁵³ and a further attack on Claudius' antiquarianism and pedantic nature came in *De Brevitate Vitae*. Over all else, Seneca attacks Claudius for not having the virtues of clemency and moderation and in *de Clementia*

¹⁴⁷ J.P.Sullivan, *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1985, p.19.

¹⁴⁸ Sullivan (1985) p.21ff.

¹⁴⁹ Sullivan (1985) p.48-51; see n62 for discussion of authorship, and proposes that *Apocolocyntosis* is translated as *The deification of Claudius the Clod*, which carries a similar meaning to Eden's translation as 'numskull'.

¹⁵⁰ Sullivan (1985) p.50, who discusses the work of the poet Calpurnius Siculus on Nero, p.51-4.

¹⁵¹ Sullivan (1985) p.55-6, cites comparison to Vergil *Eclog.*4.82-6

¹⁵² Sullivan (1985) p.123-5 outlines the positive aspects that Seneca concentrates on with respect to Claudius and Polybius - also see *ad Helviam de consolatione* also written from exile.

¹⁵³ Sullivan (1985) p.126-7; also p128-30 for anger connected to imperial brutality. and Sullivan picks up on 'the great evil of anger when backed by supreme power'.

addressed to Nero, the philosopher questioned and sketched out how absolute power should be exercised.¹⁵⁴

The portrayal of Claudius is multi-layered but there is some consistency in the sources using the ancient comic tradition as part of a negative representation. An example is when a slave is used as a vehicle for humour, and either it is the clever slave who irons out the plot or the slave described below who is the conduit for more servile humour:¹⁵⁵

‘This one provides a sullen bad temper, the cursing, the drunkenness, the indecency, thievishness, and cowardice which are traditional characteristics of the comic slave. He may have the same ambition as his cleverer fellow, but not the same capacity; he forms grand designs, but through stupidity (often through the direct intervention of the clever slave) he fails miserably and is humiliated and punished with blows or a stint at the mill’.¹⁵⁶

He is restored to his proper station, that of a lowly slave with no prospect of earning his liberty; the characteristics of the lowly slave are part-and-parcel of the depiction of Claudius in the sources.

The contemporary view of Claudius, and the only extant standpoint, was created for the Romans in the new shoots of Nero’s reign. To understand the real Claudius means that this study is required to focus on the person, and to look beyond the rearrangement of Claudius’ features by Seneca and those following later. Therefore it will not be an examination of his principate. There will be no political or administrative assessment of Claudius reign. The thesis is not a biography of Claudius, but an analysis of significant events and aspects of reported characteristics,

¹⁵⁴ Sullivan (1985) p.131.

¹⁵⁵ B. Knox, *Word and Action, Essays on the Ancient Theater*, 1979 p.361.

¹⁵⁶ Knox (1979) p.361.

in order to make sense of the sources and to establish how Claudius could manage for fourteen years as emperor of Rome.

Claudius at the river is not meant to be a title that conjures up images of fishing, Baptist services or *Wind in the Willows*, but one that reflects the diversity of the attacks on Claudius' health and character. There are three factors that should be considered – possible birth defects leading to drowning, humiliation by throwing an adult in a river and coming last in a contest for oratory. Seneca tells that *portentosos fetus extinguimus, liberos quoque, si debiles monstrosique editi sunt, mergimus* 'we extinguish unnatural offspring; we even drown children who are weak and malformed at birth'.¹⁵⁷ Also the belief that some human *monstrum* were prodigies could lead to an adverse reaction as shown by priests putting a dicephalic child in a box and throwing him in the Tiber in AD112.¹⁵⁸ The second aspect is the episode where Claudius was an envoy of the senate sent to meet Gaius who had been on campaign in Germany and Claudius was thrown in the river fully clothed by Gaius;¹⁵⁹ 'Gaius raged and fumed because his uncle of all men had been sent to him, as if to a child in need of a guardian. So great, indeed, was his wrath that some have written that Claudius was even thrown into the river, clothes and all, just as he had come'.¹⁶⁰ It is the unsuitability of an adult being compared to a child. The third aspect is the competition held by Gaius in Lyon for oratory, where 'the losers gave prizes to the victors and were forced to compose eulogies upon them, while those who were least successful were ordered to erase their writings with a sponge or with their tongue, unless they elected rather to be beaten with rods or thrown into the neighbouring river'.¹⁶¹ Claudius had a drastic failure attempting to read out his own

¹⁵⁷ Sen. *de Ira* I.15.2; Garland (1995) p.17.

¹⁵⁸ Garland (1995) p.71, cites Phlegon in *FGrH* 257 F36.25.

¹⁵⁹ Suet. *Gaius*.XLIX.1-2.

¹⁶⁰ Suet. *Claud.*IX.1 trans. Rolfe; *Gaius*.XLIX.1-2.

¹⁶¹ Suet. *Gaius*.XX trans. Rolfe. The Rhône, Saône or Rhine? Suet. *Claud.*IX.1; Gaius was in Lugdunum when he took third consulship, 13 Jan AD40, Suet. *Gaius*.XVII; he re-enters Rome on 31 Aug AD40 having been met by envoys from the senate telling him of a plot and being granted an ovation. Gaius made his HQ in Lugdunum, and campaigned in the north from there, A.A.Barrett *Caligula The Corruption of Power* 1989 p132; and notes the possibility of Suetonius' confusing the reports of Claudius being thrown in the river, and the penalty for the loser of the contest in oratory, Barrett (1989) p.133 and see Barrett (1989) n25 p286, Suet. *Gaius*.XX. D. Fishwick, 'Claudius

work at his first public recital in Rome, *et cum primum frequenti auditorio commisisset, aegre perlegit refrigeratus saepe a semet ipso*.¹⁶² This failure was caused by Claudius' own performance breakdown and by writing that Claudius threw cold water on his own recital Suetonius is alluding to the contest in Lyon. It is a reversal of the norm, a self-inflicted disaster that results in water being thrown on Claudius and not the other way around. The insinuation is that if Claudius had delivered anything similar in Lyon he undoubtedly would be placed last and, by default, was an inferior orator.

These three factors allude to Claudius' being a malformed infant who could have been drowned, his stupidity and unsuitability for office which led to Claudius being thrown in the river by Gaius; and his humiliation in oratorical competition because of his stutter and consequent lack of eloquence. The title of the thesis reflects these factors – it will explore the first two, the result of which will allow for the later study of the third aspect.

Claudius at the river challenges the portraits drawn of Claudius in the post-Neronian sources and to some extent modern scholarship; if he is not capable on any level, by rights he should be thrown in the river. The thesis begins with Claudius standing on the banks of this imaginary river.

Submersus', 1978 p.76-77 on the practice of ditching may be reflecting Celtic burial rites, and Juv.Sat.1.44 on the disquiet a competitor felt while waiting to speak at Lyons. Barrett points out the fragmentary epigraphic evidence that casts doubt on Suetonius' hostile version; Gaius and Claudius are present at the dedication of a building or temple probably in AD39, *AE* 1980.638, where Claudius is included alongside Gaius, and the imperial family on the inscription. The significance of this is usually that it is an episode to demonstrate the unsuitability for office because of the effects of his illness – the dull and infirm Claudius ridiculed by his nephew. The evidence points to the river in question being the Rhône, and not the Rhine.

¹⁶² Suet.*Claud.*XLII.1, and there are additional factors that allude to dysfluency, such as avoidance and prevarication, and giving further recitals to a *lector*, Claud.XLI.2, these will not be discussed here.

1. *Tiberium adulescentem*: a modest beginning

In Rome the names given to a son communicated a kinship with his immediate family and crucially a kinship with his ancestors; the choice probably expressed the family's confidence and hopes for the newborn infant. The names given to the infant Claudius have significance for this study in two ways; showing that the connection to an illustrious ancestry is secure, and conveying that the odds are dramatically reduced of a childhood illness being present from birth. The examination of Tiberius' life before Claudius' birth will allow one to consider the importance of the three names, the *tria nomina* Tiberius Claudius Nero. The proposal is that any birth defect or injury caused during prenatal or perinatal time would be reflected in the family taking a different course of action; either giving a less prominent name or banishing the child to some backwater. This chapter will not be a medical examination of mother and child, but an evaluation of the 'circumstantial evidence' to produce a valid conclusion that can be used as part of the assessment of Claudius' illnesses in chapters three to five.

The events occurring before Claudius' birth will be outlined; the aim is to either quantify or to rule out, as far as possible, any serious defect present at birth. This chapter will be a brief introduction to the later assessment of potential long-term diseases that may have been heralded by birth defects or a difficult and prolonged labour. In order to look for anything untoward in how he is treated by the imperial family a brief assessment of Claudius' youth and adolescence before becoming *princeps*. How the appellations are used within the family may shed light on the family's views rather than the official imperial line or the derogatory tone followed in the sources. The development of Claudius' use of names was a natural family progression; as his brother Germanicus was adopted into the *Iulii* the importance of the *agnomen* Germanicus increased for Claudius. This will be discussed in section 1.2

The use of the name Claudius itself presents problems, it has a negative aspect in terms of meaning – 'limping' – and the proposal will be considered that he was not

known as *Claudius* during his lifetime. The first use of the *nomen* by Seneca in his satirical deification of Claudius in the *Apocolocyntosis* and this damaging label forged under Nero, has been taken up by later sources where he is usually addressed as Claudius. After his apotheosis under Nero, *divus* Claudius is the proper designation; the correct terms of address will be an important feature in the discussion of the accession. The final point, and in some respects the most significant, is that the analysis of the names of Claudius will show the names he used for his own identity - he did not think of himself as Claudius but Tiberius and Tiberius Germanicus.

A summary of the system used by the Romans for applying names (onomastics) will be discussed first as it benefits the detailed discussion of the names given to Claudius. The onomastic practices of the *Nerones* and the variations of the names used will be reviewed, and used to establish a pattern which can be compared to the names given to the infant Claudius by his family. Additionally there will be a short survey of the variety of names given to and used by Claudius which are listed in Figures 1.1 and 1.2. The reasons why all the names were necessary will be examined throughout the chapter. The aim is to construct a picture relating to the use of names which has significance in the analysis of Claudius' accession, namely that Claudius considered himself to be Tiberius, later to be Tiberius Germanicus and, after accession, Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus; he would also use the shorter version, Tiberius Claudius Caesar.

Claudius was born as Tiberius Claudius Drusus on the 1st August 10 BC in Lugdunum only he was to be later renamed Tiberius Claudius Nero.¹ His father was Nero Claudius Drusus, usually known as Drusus, and his mother Antonia *minor*, a daughter of Mark Antony. The *Nerones* gave the *praenomen* Tiberius to numerous family members during Republican times² and they followed customary practice whereby the first-born received the same name as their father; hence in 5 BC

¹ See Calendars in V. Ehrenberg, A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus & Tiberius*, 1949; Suet.*Claud.*2.1; B. Levick, *Claudius*, New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1990, p.11.

² See *PIR* II 754-1056 for the *Claudii*. In 207BC Tiberius Nero defeated Hadrusbal in Spain, and for a history of the distinguished Republican *Claudii*, see Suet.*Tib.*I-IV. Suetonius also states thea Nero in Sabine means *fortis ac strenuus*, 'strong and valiant', trans. Rolfe.

Claudius' elder brother was born and called Nero Claudius Drusus.³ Drusus' elder brother was Tiberius Claudius Nero, later to be Tiberius Caesar Augustus,⁴ named after their father, also named Tiberius Claudius Nero,⁵ who followed on from another Tiberius Claudius Nero. This makes Claudius the fourth generation recorded to have identical *tria nomina*.

The Roman *tria nomina* made up of *praenomen*, *nomen gentilicium*, and *cognomen* had developed from a binomial system.⁶ The *cognomen* was appended by patrician families to make them stand apart from their contemporaries or to make them more conspicuous amongst their peers and above the level occupied by the *equites* and below. The problem had rested with the restricted variation in the *praenomen*, coupled with a heritable *nomen*.⁷ For the *gens Claudii*, an example would be Gaius Claudius a military tribune of 264BC,⁸ where the *praenomen* was used exclusively within a family environment as it was an individual's name; in the outside world one would be addressed usually by *praenomen* and *nomen*.⁹ If one name was used as a diacritic in public it would be the *nomen*; therefore the model here would be Gaius at home, and Gaius Claudius or Claudius in public.¹⁰ The system produced the result that unlike a single name system 'an individual's diacritic (i.e. a person's individuating name) and most significant name were not one and the same'.¹¹

³ *PIR* II no.221.

⁴ *PIR* II no.941.

⁵ Caesar.*Alex.25, Alexandrian, African and Spanish Wars*, trans. A.G.Way, 1955, where Tiberius Nero is a naval commander of Caesar's fleet in Egypt.

⁶ In his introduction B.Salway, 'What's in a Name? A survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c.700B.C. to A.D. 700' (1994) p.124 states 'Perusal of over a thousand years of the *fasti* of the Roman's eponymous magistracy is sufficient to demonstrate that the Roman onomastic practice did not stand still' and adds that the use of the *trianomina* is regarded as perfection of a system rather a temporary stage because its use is distinctive of the late Republic and early Empire; an era well served by both evidence and analysis.

⁷ B.Salway, (1994) 124-145, see p.125 n9; 97% of Romans used one of seventeen *praenomina*. The first-born son was usually given the father's *praenomen*, and in some families the naming of subsequent sons may have followed an order of precedence (See p.129 n.11; R. Syme *Roman Revolution* Table1 re the *Metelli*). Both these factors would restrict the possible choices, but variety was less crucial when the *praenomen* was linked to a person's *nomen*. An example would be that two men called John would be indistinguishable, but John Brown and John White can be identified as a shipbuilder and footballer respectively.

⁸ MRR no.18. Other examples would be Publius Claudius a Military Tribune of 196BC (MRR no.28), and Quintus Claudius a tribune of the Plebs in 218BC (MRR no.29).

⁹ Salway (1994) p.126.

¹⁰ The subtlety of this system was lost on the Greeks, who would invariably use only the *praenomen*. Salway p.126 n.18 cites Polyb. XVIII.ff. where T. Quinctus Flaminius cos.198 is referred to as Titus.

¹¹ Salway (1994) p.126.

The earliest of the *cognomina* reflected personal peculiarities of birth or physical appearance, many being slang, and although invariably not flattering, descendants retained them for their distinctive nature. For the elite nobles, whether *patricii* or *plebeii*, this allowed their *cognomen* to be used as a *nomen gentilicium* in binomial usage.¹² The development of the *tria nomina* meant infants could only be named following family tradition within the convention, hence M. Tullius Cicero was used for four generations unchanged, reflecting the importance of *mos maiorum* to sections of Roman society. By the late 2nd century BC the relevance of the *cognomen* was confused by non-Italian freedmen using their single name as a *cognomen*, hence M. Tullius Tiro where ‘the *cognomen* functioned as both individual signifier and diacritic in all contexts’.¹³ Salway proposes that this new freedom for the diacritic *cognomen*, which he calls a ‘diacritic shift’, had a profound impact on Rome, allowing an escape from rigid conventions, and for the inclusion of matrilineal ancestry for the first time.¹⁴ It was the personal nature of these new and varied *cognomina* that took on the diacritic function, and weakened the restricted *praenomen* as the main individuating element;¹⁵ hence Claudius’ father, Nero Claudius Drusus was predominantly known as Drusus.¹⁶

Adam’s study of Cicero’s terms of address ably demonstrates the confusion,¹⁷ as one could be addressed by *nomen* and *cognomen* or *praenomen* and *nomen/ nomen gentilicium*– which for Tiberius’ father (Ti. Claudius Nero) would be Claudius Nero or Tiberius Claudius.¹⁸ In addition, if the *cognomen* had taken over the diacritic function from the *praenomen*, then it was also used as the intimate address of the classical system; the formal public address was now usually *nomen* and *cognomen*.¹⁹

¹² See Salway (1994) p.127ff.; who also gives the example of Cn. Piso instead of Cn. Calpurnius Piso – Cicero recognised this form of address as peculiar to the elite families, and he only uses this form of address for these men.

¹³ Salway (1994) p.128.

¹⁴ See stemma of the *Quintilii* in Salway (1994) p.129. For the Claudians, the inclusion of the *cognomen* Drusus would fit this pattern.

¹⁵ Salway (1994) p.129.

¹⁶ See *PIR* II. no. 857, for all the recorded variations of Nero Claudius Drusus.

¹⁷ *CQ* 28 (1978) p.145ff.; Salway (1994) p.129 n33.

¹⁸ See *PIR* II. nos.941, 942. For all the variations regarding Tiberius Caesar and Claudius.

¹⁹ As used by Tacitus, although his reversing of *cognomen* and *nomen* was a stylistic device that had no relevance to, nor any effect on practice, Salway (1994) p.130.

Filiation was still shown by the inheriting of the father's *praenomen*, even if the *cognomen* had been the diacritic, which mirrored the traditional values of a Roman's 'official' name. The nobility tried to revive obscure *praenomina* in order to retain its diacritic function or pushed well-known *cognomina* into the prime position;²⁰ this probably provided the precedent for Augustus adopting *imperator* as his *praenomen*.²¹ During the late first century BC there was a move towards the *cognomen* being the individual signifier of the majority except for a few aristocratic families. These included the *Iulii* and the *Claudii* who were already in a minority using the *praenomina*. In the case of Germanicus the *agnomen* became used as a *cognomen*, hence the common usage of the name, and it was possibly this factor that allowed for its switch to use as a *praenomen* after Germanicus' adoption where the *praenomen* seems to be the diacritic for members of the *gens Iulii*. Further examination of the use of the *praenomen* Tiberius by the *Claudii* and in the *Iulii* by adoption may clarify Claudius position within the family.

1.1 Tiberius Claudius Nero

A second son being given the same names as an uncle may hold certain value for the immediate family, but if the uncle is a prominent citizen then that significance has a wider audience. The early life of the future emperor Tiberius will act as a yardstick for judging the potential, and indirectly the health, of his nephew Claudius; the infant would absorb reflected glory from his uncle, and from other ancestors who had the same *tria nomina*. Even if the *Claudii* merely followed family tradition regarding Claudius, that holds meaning in itself – being worthy of being integrated with these customs is some form of statement surrounding the birth, the baby's potential and domestic inclusiveness. The differentiation of the generations of Tiberius Claudius

²⁰ Salway (1994) p.130.

²¹ See R.Syme 'Imperator Caesar. A Study in Nomenclature' (1958) p.172ff. for a comprehensive discussion of Augustus' assuming the title *imperator* into his formal name. Also see discussion in chapter 2 on the salutation *imperator*.

Nero will follow Roman practice, and show how similar names seemingly caused no genuine confusion even in the house with the same *praenomen*.

Tiberius Nero was forced to separate from Livia Drusilla, who gave birth to Drusus on 14th Jan. 38BC; three days later she married Octavian (the future Augustus) who subsequently became stepfather to Tiberius and Drusus.²² The two children grew up in Octavian's house under the supervision of their mother. At the age of eight, Tiberius gave the funeral oration for his father, Tiberius Nero, in 33BC. A year after assuming the *toga virilis* (28BC) Tiberius accompanied Augustus and C. Claudius Marcellus²³ to Spain as a military tribune²⁴ where the two youths organised military Games for the army in 25BC during a lull in the Cantabrian war.²⁵ On returning to Rome, he was awarded the privilege of standing for a magistracy five years before the legal minimum age; at nineteen he became a quaestor.²⁶

In 20BC Tiberius led an expedition to the East to expel Artaxerxes, replacing him with Tigranes as the ruler in Armenia – the murder of the former resulted in a bloodless coup.²⁷ The Roman presence on the borders of Parthia proved unsettling enough for the Parthians to return the standards lost by Crassus at Carrhae; Tiberius accepted them on behalf of Augustus and Rome.²⁸ During this period, the favoured successors to Augustus were initially M. Agrippa and M. Claudius Marcellus; Augustus had adopted Agrippa's sons Gaius and Lucius soon after their birth,²⁹ the idea being that they would continue Augustus' bloodline as successors. The journey to Gaul in 16BC with Augustus was followed by a campaign with Drusus to subdue the Alpine valleys in 15BC.³⁰ These efforts were rewarded with the consulship of

²² Suet.*Aug.*62.2; *Tib.*4.4; Dio 48.44; for Tac.*Ann.*5.1 see Seager p.10; Suet.*Claud.*11.3.

²³ For discussion of Marcellus as possible heir of Augustus see R. Seager, *Tiberius*², 2004 p.16-17; B. Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, 2003, p.68-70, n22-5; R.Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, 1989 p347-50; B.Levick *Tiberius the Politician*, 1976 p20; Tac.*Ann.*1.3, 2.41; V.Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 2004 p.254 for Antonius Musa failing to cure Marcellus as heir to Augustus.

²⁴ Suet.*Tib.*9.1.

²⁵ See R.Seager, *Tiberius*, 1972, p.15.

²⁶ Dio LIII.27; Drusus received a similar honour Dio LIV.10.4.

²⁷ Suet.*Tib.*9.1.

²⁸ D.E.E.Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 1992 p.123; the cuirass of Augustus on the Prima Porta statue has a similar scene in its centre.

²⁹ Suet.*Aug.*64.1; Dio LIV.8.5, 18.1.

³⁰ Suet.*Tib.*9.1.

13BC which was marked by organising the games for the celebrations surrounding Augustus' return from Gaul.

The following year, the succession re-emerged as a problem when M. Agrippa died, and Augustus decided that Tiberius should divorce Vipsania and marry the widowed Julia in order to be the stepfather of the young heirs apparent, Gaius and Lucius.³¹ The irony of this event, with echoes of what happened to his father, would not be lost on Tiberius. The marriage took place after he had returned from two campaigns in Pannonia in 11BC, yet the triumph Tiberius had been voted by the Senate was refused by Augustus – similarly the acclamation from his own troops as *imperator* was also declined probably because only members of Augustus' family were eligible.³² Tiberius had been allowed triumphal insignia in 12BC, a year in which he salvaged the situation on the Rhine after the loss of Varus' legions,³³ and the same award was bestowed upon Drusus in 11BC. It was not until 10BC that he received an *ovatio* – Tiberius had to wait until 7BC, when as a member of the imperial family he was finally allowed a triumph. The death of M. Agrippa in 12BC left Tiberius the leading general of the day, taking command of Agrippa's legions – a difficult task to follow such a general, and one which underlined his prominence. It was a singular honour that would not be bestowed lightly by Augustus. In contrast the granting of proconsular *imperium* seems scant reward; a campaign with Agrippa's legions to subdue a revolt of the Dalmatians was operated in tandem with Drusus pushing as far inland as the River Weser in 11BC.

The next campaign, of 10BC, was an expedition to Gaul from where Tiberius was sent to repel the Dacians and subdue the Dalmatians again. Meanwhile Drusus returned to Germany to deal with the *Chatti*, leaving Augustus in Gaul for the

³¹ Suet.*Aug.* 63.2; Dio LIV.31ff.

³² R. Seager, *Tiberius*², 2004, p.36-37; R. Syme, 'Some Imperial Salutations' 1979, p.312ff. where *imperium* is also discussed in conjunction with *imperator*, such as Drusus' inscription in the Forum Augustum, *imp. [est appellat]us [i]n Germania*, p.313 and n25.

³³ 'Tiberius retrieval of Varus' standards is commemorated in an arch facing Augustus' Parthian Arch in the Roman Forum', Kleiner (1992) p.123.

summer where he attended the dedication of the altar of *Roma et Augustus* in Lugdunum, the city which was to be Claudius' birthplace.³⁴

Tiberius' first son, with Vipsania, was Nero Claudius Drusus,³⁵ a name that went against custom and precedent but probably reflected the affection he held for his brother Drusus. The son born to Tiberius and Julia in 10BC is not designated by name in the sources. Claudius' son with Plautia Urgulanilla is shown in fragmentary evidence to be (Claudius) Drusus,³⁶ but I would propose that it is more likely to be Nero Claudius Drusus, displaying a similar degree of affection for his elder brother as his uncle had displayed towards Claudius' father; alternatively it may have been Tiberius Claudius Drusus following the Republican practice of sons taking their father's name, although at this point it is unclear whether Claudius had Nero as a *cognomen* or if he had reverted to Drusus.³⁷ It is difficult to ascertain as there are no dates in the sources but it seems likely he was using Drusus.

The naming of Antonia's son should not have been problematic if the parents followed tradition. Drusus' father was Tiberius Claudius Nero, descended from Ti. Claudius Nero the son of Appius Claudius Caecus an *aedile* of 308BC, consul 296BC; his mother Livia Drusilla was descended from another son of Appius Claudius Caecus, the consul of 249BC Publius Claudius Pulcher.³⁸ The *Pulchri* became the more prominent branch as no *Nerones* had held consular office between the Tiberius Claudius Nero in 202BC and Tiberius in 13BC. In the intervening years the *Nerones* had not been totally invisible as a patrician family.³⁹ Drusus' father had

³⁴ C.H.V.Sutherland, *Roman History and Coinage 44BC-AD69*, 1987, p.77-78, on the coins issued by Augustus, Tiberius and then probably in AD41-2 by Claudius, commemorating the dedication of the altar in Lugdunum on the day of Claudius' birth, 1st August 10BC.

³⁵ *PIR* II no.219. Later to be Drusus Iulius Caesar. For a new and updated stemma of the Julio-Claudians see fig.1.3.

³⁶ *PIR* II no.856; married in 9-10AD see Levick (1990) p.16.

³⁷ See Levick.(1990) p.11-12, n1 p.199, which outlines the arguments on when Claudius was Nero or Drusus. Levick rightly argues against Simpson who had proposed Claudius took Nero instead of Drusus in 4BC to prevent the *cognomen* of the *Nerones* vanishing, see n58 below. Levick writes that he took Drusus in 9BC when Germanicus assumed the *agnomen* and that Claudius stopped using it when Drusus Iulius Caesar was adopted as an heir in AD4, so Claudius assumed the name Germanicus as the senior *Claudii*. Yet Drusus Ti.f. was from a different branch of the family and Claudius still used f. Drusus while *princeps* on some inscriptions.. This area needs more thought and enquiry.

³⁸ Tac.*Ann.*5.1, 6.61; Suet.*Tib.*3.1; Seager (2004) p.7.

³⁹ See T. R. S. Broughton, *The magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 1952, nos. 245-54 for careers of the *Nerones*.

hoped to marry Tullia, Cicero's daughter in 50BC,⁴⁰ only for the Civil War to erupt; initially siding with Caesar, he switched allegiance and joined the 'Republicans'. A praetor in 42BC Tiberius Nero held on to the insignia of office into 41BC and attempted to incite a revolt in Campania to overturn the land seizures for veterans, in addition to resisting the financial squeeze being imposed by the Triumvirate;⁴¹ in effect he was a people's champion.⁴² Tiberius Nero escaped from a defeat by Octavian in Sicily and joined Antony⁴³ only eventually to return to Rome with his family under the amnesty brokered on Sicily between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius in response to rampant piracy.⁴⁴ It was after this homecoming that Livia divorced Drusus whilst pregnant. The choice of name for the infant could follow the normal practice of the patrician Claudians which would be akin to Drusus' brother, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and parallel the man Augustus had usurped for the hand of Livia. If Augustus had any scruples over the affair then Drusus would probably not want to offend his stepfather – the idea of enmity seems less likely considering Drusus' career path had followed Tiberius', albeit a year behind his brother.

1.2 The Birth of Tiberius Claudius Drusus

The discussion below centres around two interconnected themes, the birth of Claudius and the subsequent changes that occurred to his name afterwards. There is an assertion by some scholars that the time of Claudius' birth was unknown - this is promoted as evidence of a difficult labour and the reason for subsequent health problems.⁴⁵ The controversy can be resolved by the identification of who was in the *environs* of Lyon; this will show that it is unlikely that the events surrounding Claudius' birth, and the outcome, were unknown to Augustus the imperial family.

⁴⁰ Cic.*Att.*6.6.1.

⁴¹ Tac.*Ann.*5.1; Suet.*Tib.*4.2; Vell.2.75.1.

⁴² Seager (2004) p.9.

⁴³ Suet.*Tib.*4.3; Dio XLVIII.5.3.

⁴⁴ Tac.*Ann.*5.1; Suet.*Tib.*4.3; Vell.2.77.3.

⁴⁵ Levick (1990) p.13ff.and note 7 p.200; T.C. de Coursey Ruth, *The Problem with Claudius*, 1913, p.131; Eden p.73.

How others use his names is as important as Claudius' self-identity. Augustus and Seneca addressed Claudius using the 'private' name of Tiberius while Seneca also employed the more circumspect official title of Caesar. There is additional importance in the adoption of the *agnomen* Germanicus as it resulted in the combination Tiberius Germanicus which specifically identified Claudius.

Dio says that Augustus, Tiberius and Drusus returned from Gaul together,⁴⁶ and it was in Lugdunum that Antonia and Julia both gave birth to sons.⁴⁷ There is no evidence that any of the fathers were present, but conversely there is no way of knowing that they were not. Augustus was in Gaul for the summer and, as Antonia's son was born on the 1st August, it is probable he was in Lugdunum at the time of the birth of his stepson's children. Seneca casts doubt on Claudius' birth saying the astrologers could not cast his *hora fatalis*, the hour of his death, because they did not know his *hora natalis* the time of his birth.⁴⁸ When this is combined with Antonia calling Claudius a monster of a man, only started but not finished (*incohatus*) by Nature,⁴⁹ historians use the mention of prodigies (*portentam*) as possible evidence of a premature birth, which could cause mental and physical defects.⁵⁰ The astrologers were in Rome, not in Lyon when Claudius was born, so the only way they could know the time of birth was if someone who knew told them. Seneca is casting doubt on Claudius' credentials on two levels – of being barely a man and the result of an outlandish birth.

To name the boy Tiberius Claudius Drusus, with the *cognomen* becoming Nero soon after, recalled the pre-eminent man in the state after Augustus; the name of the stepfather of Augustus' heirs, Gaius and Lucius, was being bestowed on the grandson-by-marriage of the *princeps*. If Augustus or Livia had any qualms about this, any concerns relating to illness or birth defects of the child, then they would probably have made their discomfort known – there were other family *praenomina*

⁴⁶ Dio LIV.36. ff; R. Syme, *Roman Papers*, (1979) p. 312-3.

⁴⁷ *Fasti Ostienses* ; Cat ; for Julia see *PIR* IV 299.

⁴⁸ *Sen. Apoc.* 3.2; also Eden (1984) note 3.2 p.73.

⁴⁹ *mater Antonia portentam eum hominis dictitabat, nec absolutum a natura, sed tantum incohatum*, 'His mother Antonia often called him 'a monster of a man, not finished but merely begun by Dame Nature'', Suet. *Claud.* 3 trans Rolfe.

⁵⁰ Suet. *Claud.* 4; Levick (1990) p.13 ff., note 7 p.200; T.C. de Coursey Ruth, p.131; Eden p.73.

available, notably Appius, Decimus (after Drusus) or Gaius. If Drusus' son had been born crippled or infirm, then it is very unlikely, given the political and military honours bestowed upon Drusus and Tiberius plus the close links to the succession, that the baby would have been named so. The orthodox views about certain customs and rights have been overturned by recent scholarship. The ritual of *tollere liberos* where the father was meant to recognise his son as a legitimate child by lifting the infant up from the ground signifying acceptance has been demonstrated to be a myth of modern origin.⁵¹ The right of the father under *Patria Potestas* to put a child to death was extant but waning⁵² and even then it only applied to new born child if he had shown it to five neighbours and got their agreement, which Ramsay proposes is only applicable to deformed children.⁵³ On the ninth day *Dies lustricus* after birth at a religious ceremony of purification the boy would be given his *praenomen*.⁵⁴ The

⁵¹ B.D.Shaw, (2001) p.32ff. Regardless of the importance of the acceptance into the *familia*, there is no official record of *tollere liberos* connected specifically to lifting infants up (Shaw p.45) and Shaw p.37-40 reviews primary evidence including from New Comedy and Livy's reference to the land grants for new families at 4.54.7 and 5.30.8; also Sen.*De beneficiis* 3.11 shows that it is the parents who raise children, and Shaw p.46 concludes the literary evidence points to a modern meaning of raising children, and *tollere liberos* do not refer to a ritual. For an extensive treatment see T.Köves-Zulauf, *Römische Geburtsriten*, 1990, p.1-93.

⁵² See Sen, *de Clem* I.14.15; W. Ramsay, *A Manual of Roman Antiquities*, 1894 p.248.

⁵³ Ramsay (1894) p.249; also Cic.*De Leg.*III.8; Livy. XXVII.37; Sen *de Ira* I.15; Dionys. II.15.27, and 26.4 on the law attributed to Romulus on rights of fathers punishing their sons, Shaw (2001) p.68-9 argues that it was 'widely believed by fathers' that they had these powers; some examples of punishments may be stories of murders that metamorphosed into imaginary scenarios used by the rhetorical schools. An important point (Shaw p.60-1) is that the cases of killings in the sources such as Livy are not actual events carried out 'by fathers who were exercising specific powers that they held as *patres*, but rather ideological interpretations of their actions' by the source. In contrast there is a case where Hadrian judged such a killing as murder (Shaw p.69). The conclusion reached by Shaw p.70-1, 76-7 is that although the idea has origins in the pre-Republican Rome, there is no legal basis to kill children, yet the stories are told in such a way as 'to suggest as much to the reader'.

⁵⁴ Ramsay (1894) p.421 and see Suet.*Aug.*65, *Nero* 5; Sen *de Ira* I.15; Cic.*Verr* I.44, *Philipp.* II.18 on infanticide. Also see M. Beard, J. North, S. Price, *Religions of Rome, Volume I: A History*, 1998 p.49-54 for family religious practices; p.24-6 for the duties of the *pontifices* including their involvement with adoption, wills, inheritances and the responsibility for compiling the Calendar: a record of important events, one of which is the birth of Claudius see note 2. See W.V. Harris, 'Child-Exposure in the Roman Empire', (1994) p.1-22, which gives a full discussion of the subject. Of interest for this study, Harris picks holes in the description of Republican practice by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, concluding that 'late republican evidence is thin', (Harris p5; Shaw (2001) p.59.), but the evidence for the Empire is reflected by the demographics of there being more adult men than women p.5-7. The intention of the 'exposer' can be diametrically opposed, one hoping the child will be found, and the other expecting the child to die— Harris (p.9) suggests the illegitimate and infirm would be in the latter group. Shaw p.74 n115 argues against Harris and states that 'legally even *expositio* counted as murder' and the power of life and death has been demonstrated by Shaw to be a myth. As for the reasons for driving Romans to exposing a child, Harris creates four distinct groups of the deformed infant, the illegitimate, those from a desperately poor family and those born on a day of bad portents and omens (The death of Germanicus resulted in grief-stricken parent to expose those young children, born on a day of great ill-fortune (Harris p.14; Suet.*Gaius*.V.)). In the group of deformed children the practice was unclear, either exposure or elimination. The definition of deformed is not clear— Harris cites the *deformatatem puer* had to be disposed of quickly, and Seneca hints at drowning being the

proximity of all three men to the birth, both politically and geographically, means that the time of birth questioned in the *Apocolocyntosis*,⁵⁵ and the health of the baby are nearly beyond reasonable doubt; the date is, after all, recorded in the Calendars. Following this sequence of events, Antonia's reported outburst against her son may well refer to a later period in his life or a later falsification, especially as Suetonius does not link her views directly to the birth at Lugdunum.⁵⁶ The orthodox assumption is that as Antonia claims Claudius is unfinished (*incohatus*), and the sense must refer to childhood, but there is no evidence of that being the case.

The doubts over Claudius' birth raise questions of whether it set alarm bells off in the population. If the deformed or children that were deemed too weak to live were killed by drowning, then the reported event in Germany where Claudius is thrown in the river by Gaius takes on a different hue.⁵⁷ This is no comic tale. It is a very dark episode – a serious attack on Claudius' fitness for life, not just work. This also invites the enquiry whether this connects with Antonia's outburst,⁵⁸ allowing only the conclusion that he was so deformed he should have been drowned at birth, this episode will be discussed later.

A year later, in 9BC, Drusus died, and was honoured posthumously by being given the *agnomen* Germanicus becoming Drusus Germanicus, in recognition of his campaigns and successes in Germany. The honour then passed to his eldest son, who

usual method *de Ira* 1.15.2 (a Republican treatment of hermaphrodites). The midwife was probably the instrument of despatching the deformed infants, in Harris p.12 and n103-4. The discussion runs into serious problems of terminology and definition when Harris states 'a few who suffered from severe defects were kept alive'. There are no terms of reference for what is deemed 'severe', and whether the judgement is based on medical grounds or on Seneca who states the 'weak and deformed' were killed – Harris p12.cites Soranus II.10 for a huge category of the unfit. If the most common reason for exposure was a lack of money this would not be applicable to Drusus' family. There is a precedent in the imperial family where Augustus' granddaughter Julia had a child in exile and he would not allow it to be recognised or brought up – this seems to be Suetonius' long-winded account of an exposure, Suet.*Aug.*LXV.4. See B.Severy (2003) p.196-8 n55, 66.

⁵⁵ Sen. *Apoc.*3.1ff.

⁵⁶ Suet.*Claud.*III.

⁵⁷ Suet.*Claud.*IX.1; *Gaius*.XLIX.1-2.

⁵⁸ Suet.*Claud.*III. The slide into apparent madness (*amentia*) of Agrippa Postumus was a tragic affair but the outcome was stage-managed by Augustus to get his heir out of the way, and much further out of the way than Claudius ever was, Suet.*Aug.* LXV.1, 4. Also Severy (2003) p.196 n50.

subsequently became known as Germanicus.⁵⁹ At this point, Claudius was not entitled to the name.⁶⁰

In respect to Claudius, he was known as Tiberius within the imperial house; a letter to Livia demonstrates this, where Augustus' uses Claudius' *praenomen*,⁶¹ but there is no contemporary report of a diacritic outside the imperial circle. The inscription at Ticinum from AD7-8, displays the members of the *Iulii* and heirs of Augustus,⁶² recording Claudius as *Ti. Claudio Drusi Germanici f. Neroni Germanico*. Following precedent, in his youth for public occasions Claudius would originally be called Nero or Claudius Nero, but it is after the adoption of Germanicus (Germanicus Iulius Caesar) by Tiberius that Claudius became Tiberius Germanicus.⁶³ This would be a unique combination and in this case a diacritic and individual signifier. Tiberius once adopted by Augustus became Ti. Iulius Caesar having previously been known as Tiberius Nero – it is in the official nomenclatures that the problems of differentiation arise surrounding Claudius. Having probably been Tiberius for most of his life, the accession would create difficulties in terms of a singular name which would act as a diacritic. Initially he chose Tiberius Claudius Caesar, which set him apart from his uncle in respect of the differing *nomen gentilicium*. The *agnomen* is dropped temporarily, to be replaced by 'Augustus', meaning the names Caesar Augustus were effectively inheritable titles. The omission of the *agnomen* Germanicus may be significant, especially as a name with such strong military connections was missing from the 'Praetorian coins' as well as all those issued in the first year AD41.⁶⁴ For all the variations outlined in the catalogue of Claudius' names as *princeps*, the constant factors are Tiberius Claudius on all the officially produced documents, inscriptions and coins. Seneca addresses the *princeps* as *Caesar* in his letter *ad Polybium*, he does not use Claudius as an individual signifier; conversely Seneca uses Claudius in the *Apocolocyntosis*. Seneca provides examples of the formal address in his letter

⁵⁹ Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus; he later became Germanicus Iulius Caesar when Augustus adopted Tiberius in 4AD. Tiberius had already adopted Germanicus by that point.

⁶⁰ See Momigliano p.80 n2 for an explanation of the precedents for this. See Levick (1990) p.11 and p.199 n1 over the taking of *agnomen* "Germanicus" and for the controversy with C.J.Simpson, 'The early name of the emperor Claudius', 1981 p.363-8; also Scramuzza, (1940), p.35.

⁶¹ Suet.*Claud.*4

⁶² See #1 in fig.1.1; Augustus, Livia, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Tiberius Caesar, Germanicus Caesar, Drusus Caesar (Tiberius' son), Nero Caesar and Drusus Germanicus (Germanicus' sons), and Claudius.

⁶³ See stemma of the Julio-Claudians fig.1.3, and fig.1.1.

⁶⁴ See fig.1.1 # 11-19. The coins connected to the accession will be discussed in chapter 2.

concerning the *princeps* and the discourteous even impious version after Claudius' deification.⁶⁵ If Claudius had wanted to drop his *praenomen*, he could probably have done so and adopted the *cognomen* Nero, to be Nero Claudius Caesar. This would have been unmistakeable amongst the *Claudii*, and would have allowed the *praenomen* to be a diacritic i.e. Nero Caesar Augustus (which was differentiated from Nero Iulius Caesar).

Drusus Iulius Caesar's sons Germanicus (Iulius) Caesar⁶⁶ and Ti. Iulius Caesar Nero,⁶⁷ born in AD19, would have had less influence on Claudius as they belonged to the next generation. By the time Claudius reached the principate, only the latter had any recognition, being declared with Gaius as a joint heir of Tiberius⁶⁸ but fated to be adopted by Gaius even though he was only seven years younger.⁶⁹ He was destined for an unfortunate end in AD38.⁷⁰ Suetonius refers to the twenty year old Gemellus as the young Tiberius,⁷¹ which implies that there was an elder Tiberius who may be Claudius in AD38.⁷² Or perhaps a distinction and a parallel are being drawn between the recently deceased *princeps* and the younger man. As Tiberius Caesar is invariably referred to as plain Tiberius in the sources, it may be over simplifying the reality – he would be addressed as Caesar whilst alive, and therefore no confusion with a grandson⁷³ who would probably be referred to Tiberius; and if one includes his nephew Claudius then all three would have had the same individuating name of Tiberius but it would be essential to have different diacritics. Suetonius refers to Gemellus as Tiberius son of Drusus when commenting on Tiberius' will, but this could mean Gemellus or Claudius if taken outside the context

⁶⁵ *Apocolocyntosis* was performed after Claudius' death in AD54, and the brazen nature of the satire, may have exerted some influence, at least for a short time, in areas where the emperor or the Romans were unpopular. This depends on how extensively it was performed or known and it may have influenced later sources who agreed with the basic sentiments outlined within its satirical framework. It depends on whether the *Apocolocyntosis* is interpreted as being an anti-Claudian or a pro-Neronian work.

⁶⁶ *PIR* II no.224, possibly Tiberius as a *praenomen*.

⁶⁷ *PIR* II no.226 known as Tiberius Gemellus.

⁶⁸ Suet. *Gaius*.14.1; 76.1; Dio LIX.1.2ff; Levick *Tib* p.220ff.

⁶⁹ Suet. *Gaius* 15.2; Dio LIX 8.1; Levick *Tib* p.220 n80.

⁷⁰ Suet. *Gaius*.23.3; Barrett (1993) p.74-8.

⁷¹ Suet. *Gaius*.23.3 Tiberius is used twice as the name for Gemellus and Claudius is mentioned on the following line. See Barrett (1993) p38-9 for examination of the sources' portrayal of Gemellus' apparent youth, which was inconsistent with his real age.

⁷² Germanicus' son Ti. Iulius Caesar had died in AD8; Ti. Gemellus' twin was another Germanicus whom had died AD23 see *PIR* no.224.

⁷³ See Suet. *Claud.*4 for Livia's son and grandson, both Tiberius.

of the paragraph.⁷⁴ Suetonius is reporting a handwritten document plus a copy, presumably from the Imperial library, so any potential conundrums within the document would have been prevented if Ti. Gemellus had been cited with his full name. The ambiguous nature of the sentence in Suetonius may have been caused by the author himself if he simplified the names; by this point Claudius was the senior male and head of the Claudian family in AD35,⁷⁵ so any possible legal confusion would need to be avoided in the will. Augustus refers to *Tiberium adulescentum* when he writes of Claudius at a time when Tiberius Caesar was the elder relative,⁷⁶ and it would be superfluous after the age of fourteen for Claudius to have to use another name anyway; the adoption of Tiberius solved any confusion in the minds of the Romans.

The Bible has references to Caesar Augustus,⁷⁷ Tiberius Caesar⁷⁸ and Nero⁷⁹ all being addressed as Caesar, but Claudius⁸⁰ is without an official title. Out of the four emperors referred to directly, the only one with a singular name is Claudius, which may reflect the lack of esteem for him in Judaea or the possibility that as after death, he was *divus* Claudius (an honorific title that would not be used in the Bible) so the omission resulted in a single name. The different sources may be problematic in terms of using names and this may make comparison difficult. Alternatively it may display the mood and tone of the new regime in Rome under Nero, where derision and scorn were poured upon him.⁸¹ After death Claudius was voted the honour *divus*⁸² and probably following the only precedent, where *imperator* Caesar Augustus became *divus* Augustus (the *agnomen* being the diacritic) he would be converted into *divus* Claudius. It is ironic that a name that differentiated him from his uncle became

⁷⁴ Suet.*Tib.*76.

⁷⁵ Suet.*Tib.*15.

⁷⁶ Suet.*Claud.*4.5.

⁷⁷ Luke 2.1, also see Matt 22.17-21.

⁷⁸ Luke 3.1.

⁷⁹ Acts 25.8, 25.11; Phil 4.22.

⁸⁰ Acts 11.28.

⁸¹ Eden (1984) p.8-12. E.S.Ramage, 'Denigration of Predecessor under Claudius, Galba, and Vespasian', (1983) 201-214, looks at the running down of a predecessor by the issue of certain coin types, Claudius used *Libertas*, *Pax* and *Victoria*, se p.204-3; but Ramage argues for *Constantia* to be in contrast to Gaius inconsistency, *furiosa inconstantia*, p205. There is no evidence of Nero using coins to denigrate Claudius p.206. See Suet.*Nero*.XXXIII for Nero's policy to defame Claudius.

⁸² Suet.*Claud.*XLV; *Nero*.IX; Tac.*Ann.*12.69.

the individual signifier after death with its unfortunate physical reference and connotations⁸³.

Claudius' father Drusus originally had the *praenomen* Decimus⁸⁴ and Decimus Claudius Drusus eventually became Drusus Germanicus where the diacritic was the *cognomen* and *agnomen*; in between he was also addressed as Nero Claudius Drusus, Nero Claudius, Drusus Nero, Claudius Drusus Nero, Nero Drusus, Claudius Drusus, Drusus Claudius and Drusus.⁸⁵ This is a good demonstration of the interchangeability of the *trianomina* compounded by the use of a binomial system in the sources which include Tacitus, Seneca, Pliny, Vellius Paterculus and Florus.

The matrilineal *cognomen* Drusus passed to the sons of Drusus and Livia, but it was Claudius who passed it on to his first son⁸⁶ and eventually to his adopted son Nero; yet Britannicus as his original heir was Ti. Claudius Caesar.⁸⁷ Born early in Claudius' principate and following custom, he was given his father's names minus the *agnomen* Germanicus, replaced by Britannicus in recognition of the conquest of Britain in AD43. The reversion to using Drusus as a *cognomen* by Claudius may be to re-establish a link to his family and would align him with his father and Germanicus from before his adoption in AD10. The use of Drusus is in opposition to the omission of Germanicus on the Praetorian coins of AD41 and later. Inclusion of Drusus and/or Germanicus connects to the fame and renown of his family through military success, while any omission distances, even disowns, that heritage.

There are many variables at play here in Claudius' use of names and the constant factors on official documents are Tiberius Claudius and Caesar; although Σεβαστος is omitted from the letter of Claudius to Thasos in AD42,⁸⁸ the

⁸³ The *nomen* Claudius is derived from *Claudo*, -ere, to limp, falter or hesitate. *Claudus* adj. limping, halting; (or figuratively) crippled, imperfect, defective, Lewis & Short. The name would originally have been a diacritic for an individual in a single name system.

⁸⁴ Suet.*Claud.*1.1; *PIR* II no.857.

⁸⁵ See *PIR* II no.857.

⁸⁶ See *PIR* II no.856.

⁸⁷ See *PIR* II no. 820; Britannicus was born on the 22nd day of his father's rule, or during his second consulship; see Suet.*Claud.* p.56 note b for explanation of the confusion.

⁸⁸ E.M.Smallwood, *Documents illustrating the principates of Gaius Claudius & Nero*, 1984 no.371.

misinterpretation or misreporting of Roman practice in the East is possibly demonstrated by referring to Claudius Caesar Augustus and Claudius Caesar, at a trial in AD41 or 53 before Claudius, of two anti-Semitic party leaders from Alexandria⁸⁹. There is a chance that the scribe omitted the *praenomen* (possibly abbreviated) on the papyrus, as it seems strange that Claudius would allow such an event in practice – the likelihood being that he would be addressed as Caesar in a law court. If the transcript is accurate, and the former date is correct, it may show unfamiliarity with the new *princeps*. If the latter, it could show the development of a diacritic although both are in opposition to Salway's proposition. The use of Claudius Caesar may well reflect the practice in Egypt, but it is not backed up by any evidence, in Rome, or from any Roman source during Claudius' lifetime. If one only saw inscriptions and coins then the *nomen* is the most obvious initial diacritic as it is very rarely abbreviated. Using the *nomen* and *cognomen* would follow Republican practice.

The choice of names by Claudius on accession could have been carefully planned – to distinguish himself from his uncle, to distance himself from the Julians and to put down a marker as the senior Claudian. He may have decided not to use a diacritic *praenomen* to distinguish himself from Tiberius Caesar, simply because he wanted to remain Tiberius Germanicus, or Tiberius Claudius, or perhaps a different *praenomen* may have caused him fresh communication difficulties. After AD42, both *praenomen* and *nomen* are abbreviated which, in effect, gives equal stress to both in a visual sense⁹⁰ and the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* gives both Tiberius' and Claudius' names in full.⁹¹ Both are written as Tiberius in what is a formal document, and this may help to show that Claudius was Tiberius Claudius Caesar while his uncle was Tiberius Iulius Caesar; Augustus had already set a precedent for Caesar being the *cognomen*, which would support both the arguments that Claudius was addressed by *nomen* and *cognomen*, and that Claudius was the forerunner of a change where he used the imperial *tria nomina*.

⁸⁹ Smallwood 436; these papyrological accounts from Alexandria of the embassies may not be an entirely accurate transcript of the proceedings, and as can be seen from the table of Greek names the Greek speakers are not always consistent in their application of Roman names.

⁹⁰ Fig.1.1 nos. #18-22, 40-1, 43, 48-9, 52, 60-2, 76-7, 83-8, 110-1.

⁹¹ Ehrenberg & Jones 364.

There is no reason to believe that only single diacritic *praenomina* were used at all times as a Roman form of addressing the *princeps*. Later in AD161 Marcus (Aelius) Aurelius Verus Caesar as the adopted heir of Antoninus Pius, succeeded as *imperator* Marcus Aurelius. Someone had to be the first to use a binomial signifier and Tiberius Claudius would not be out of place here. Conversely there is a certain symmetry about the possible use of nicknames for an emperor, such as Caligula, Claudius and Caracalla,⁹² and this warrants further investigation into how the sources may have used them as a shorthand to identify the protagonists in their works. It may be interesting to analyse whether the use of nicknames in the sources have intrinsic negative characteristics.

Marcus Iulius Agrippa, was educated alongside Claudius in the house of Augustus; in AD43-4 Agrippa as king in Judaea produced a coin bearing the legend ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜ.⁹³ The coin inscription may well reflect how Agrippa was used to addressing the young Claudius as Tiberius Germanicus, where in normal social contact the superfluous *nomen* Claudius can be omitted. This will result in an appropriate and accurate individual signifier and a diacritic of Tiberius Germanicus which would not be confused with any other member of the Claudian *gens*. It is in the Lyon speech of AD48 that Claudius addresses himself as Tiberius Caesar Germanicus. The soldier who recognised Claudius after the assassination of Gaius is reported as saying ‘Here is Germanicus’, "Γερμανικὸς μὲν οὗτος".⁹⁴ The definitive article is missing which would normally introduce a proper name for the first time, but here the omission renders the meaning as ‘Here is Germanicus’ and it is not the orthodox translation of ‘Here is a Germanicus’. This carries a completely different meaning relating to the family and implies the relationship to his brother is the important identifier. The first translation identifies Claudius. This allows one to question whether translators of the Greek have been

⁹² Gaius Iulius Caesar; Ti. Claudius Caesar; Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, son of Septimius Severus

⁹³ Table 1.2 no #139; the legend reads Tiberius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. Agrippa produced the coin in honour of Claudius’ confirming his kingdom, including Judaea and Samaria and the gift of the mountains of Lebanon, *Jos.Ant.*XIX.274 notes c-g p341; *B.J.*II.215-216; Dio LX.8.2.

⁹⁴ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.217.

influenced by the ‘myth’ of Claudius’ accession⁹⁵ – where it is unbelievable and in the hands of Fortune that the slow-witted invalid could be emperor. The relevance of this interpretation of Josephus is that there are now two possible meanings: one points to Claudius already being known in his own right, and as part of Drusus’ family and the brother of Germanicus; the other, that the guards were actually looking for him as an individual, and the race was probably on to find him before anyone else got there first.⁹⁶ Gaius had also used Germanicus as a component of his name as *princeps*,⁹⁷ so there may have been some reluctance on Claudius’ part to utilise it officially (although the name appears on inscriptions from AD41).⁹⁸ Or it may be a distortion by Josephus in order to make the point regarding a military association via the familial *agnomen* Germanicus, and underpin the reasons why the Praetorians made Claudius their choice. The important factor is it allows a hypothesis that the use of the *cognomen* Germanicus identified Claudius.

The *lex Valeria Aurelia* of AD20, and the decree of the Senate which preceded it, outlined the instructions for the setting up of a statue to the deceased Germanicus Caesar.⁹⁹ This was under the directive of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, so beside Germanicus would be a statue of his father Drusus Germanicus.¹⁰⁰ The decree below also includes the placing of statues of Germanicus’ mother Antonia, his wife Agrippina the Elder and their children, his sister Livia (Claudia Livilla) and his brother, Tiberius Germanicus (Claudius).¹⁰¹

*supraque eum ianum statua Ger[manici Caesaris po-]
neretur in curru triumphali et circa latera eius statuæ D[rusi Germanici
patris ei-] us naturalis, fratris Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti), et Antoniae matris
ei[us et Agrippinae uxoris et Li-] uiae sororis et Ti(berii) Germanici fratris
eius filiorum et fi[liarum eius];*¹⁰²

⁹⁵ There is also the problem of the myth of Claudius and the paradox in the sources between how can someone so unlikely be emperor; in reality that could simply be the difference between disability and handicap.

⁹⁶ The events surrounding Claudius’ accession will be dealt with at length in chapter 2.

⁹⁷ *PIR* II no. 217.

⁹⁸ See Fig. 1.1 #7-8, 20-1, 27-8; in the East it appears in letters, coins, and for inscriptions from AD41 see table 1.2 # 126-7, 129-30 for that year.

⁹⁹ *Tabula Siarensis* frag a; line 18 decree for the *Lex Valeria Aurelia*, *Roman Statutes* 37 p.515.

¹⁰⁰ *Tabula Siarensis* frag a; line 19 decree for the *Lex Valeria Aurelia*, *Roman Statutes* 37 p.515.

¹⁰¹ *Tabula Siarensis* frag a; line 21 decree for the *Lex Valeria Aurelia*, *Roman Statutes* 37 p.515.

¹⁰² *Tabula Siarensis* frag a; lines 18-21 decree for the *Lex Valeria Aurelia*, *Roman Statutes* 37 p.515.

The senatorial decree written while Tiberius was still alive, demonstrates how Claudius was publicly recognised and how Roman onomastic practice is correctly observed with no possibility of confusion in differentiating the family members. Claudius' name follows the same pattern as his father (*praenomen* and *agnomen*) whilst his brother is only referred to as Germanicus Caesar (*praenomen* and *cognomen*) in the decree and the *Lex Valeria Aurelia*.

At that moment he was the only living Germanicus and no other could have used Germanicus as an *agnomen*;¹⁰³ his brother had died in AD19 and Claudius had been entitled to use the *agnomen* for the sixteen years since Germanicus' adoption by Tiberius (in AD4). Twenty-one years later in AD41, the situation was unchanged. Therefore the soldier who unearthed Claudius could hardly be accused of a mistake if he shouted that he had found Germanicus; the formal name would be Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus into which was inserted Caesar Augustus.¹⁰⁴ The decree is reasonable evidence that at least during the reign of Tiberius, and up until accession, Claudius would probably have been known as Ti. Germanicus.

On accession it is the *nomen* Claudius that initially sets him apart from Tiberius Caesar Augustus, yet the abbreviation '*Claud.*' on coins after AD42 shifts the visual emphasis to *Caesar*. The omission of the *nomen* from the Lyon speech seems to go against all that came before regarding the careful use of names;¹⁰⁵ it may reflect his

¹⁰³ Gaius Iulius Caesar (Suet.*Gaius* 23.1), son of Germanicus Caesar used Germanicus as an *agnomen* see *PIR* II 217; in AD37 he was not and could not be the senior member of Drusus' house as he had born into the Iulii, although after becoming *princeps* he assumed the name into his titles, probably because he needed reflected glory from his father to boost his lack of military experience, and as the first man of the state, he might also *claim* to be the principal member of the Claudians. Where this leaves Claudius is unclear especially as the honorific title could only be passed on after the death of the senior male, and even then it would have passed to (Claudius) Drusus. There would have to have been a 'reverse adoption' of Gaius back into the Claudii, which would be impossible if Claudius was still alive due to Gaius' status. It may be that Gaius hijacked the name for his own ends probably to gain the support of the legions by evoking his father's name. Regardless of (Claudian and Republican) precedent, Gaius could look to Augustus as an onomastic model and choose his own names, therefore leaving Claudius still as Ti. Germanicus

¹⁰⁴ See the *Fasti Ost.* In fig.1.1 #2-4.

¹⁰⁵ *CIL* 14.2794 gives Nero Caesar Germanicus which is dated AD51-4, which would be before becoming *princeps*, and after his adoption, reflecting Claudius' use of customary practice. On the sepulchral inscription of Quintus Veranius, Consul AD49, (A.E.Gordon, *Quintus Veranius, consul*

preference, or the root may lie somewhere else. These points require consideration when the speech is examined in detail.

The re-adoption of the name Drusus to replace the *cognomen* Nero after becoming *princeps*, may be part of a shift away from the previous regimes towards his matrilineal ancestry and the consul of 90BC M.Livius Drusus, where there may be echoes of the policies of expanding the franchise of Roman citizenship and the provision and protection of the corn supply to cement the political support of the citizens. The use of the name Drusus is reserved only for inscriptions, either in Rome or in the Provinces. The use of milestones in places like *Gallia Narbonensis* could display any policy resemblance to travellers, foreigners and the poor – anyone who had to move across the empire. It may well be that only the educated would see the importance, but there is no evidence as to why Claudius chose to revert to his original *cognomen*. To display Drusus within Rome may have had a double effect – to re-assure the Senate about their position, and to remind the plebs that the corn supply had not been forgotten. The construction work on the harbour at Ostia is in a similar and practical vein. More research is required to explore the possibility of a connection between policy and the onomastic practices of Claudius. The choice of names available to Claudius' parents, Drusus and Livia, were restricted by precedent and custom but Augustus had demonstrated that one could choose or adopt any name when one was *princeps*. Subsequent heirs of Tiberius and Germanicus were adopted into the Julian house requiring a change of name.¹⁰⁶ Yet Claudius incorporated his

A.D. 49 : a study based upon his recently identified sepulchral inscription, 1952, p.231-351), Gordon argues that line 12 should contain this contracted version of Nero whilst Emperor fits the space available (which negates his argument on p.266 that Nero Caesar Germanicus was his name before he was *princeps*). The *trianomina* used is similar to that used by Claudius in the Lyon speech of AD48, which would cast doubt on the date given in *CIL*, as the Veranius inscription is dated circa AD58. Gordon surmises that the *nomen* *Claudius* is absent as it was less important than *Caesar* to Nero, because it was never omitted after accession, against 13 omissions of the *nomen* on Nero's coins – see Gordon p.266 n1 15. Alternatively, his adoptive father may have set the precedent for Nero's conduct. In addition Claudius is not inscribed as *divus* Claudius but given his full name of Ti. Claudii Caesaris Augusti Germanici on five occasions in the partially reconstructed text, Gordon p.234, which are the correct formal names of Claudius. Here one can see the symmetry used by Claudius on occasions, taking the first, third and fifth name. If applied to a time after Claudius' death, Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus would give the *trianomina* on the inscription. The result is that in both *princeps*'s names the *gentilium nomen* is sometimes absent although it is nearly impossible to produce a definitive formula. There are so many variations in nomenclature plus too many variables in external factors related to where the inscriptions or coins were produced, and by whom.

¹⁰⁶ Ti. Claudius Nero transformed into Ti. Iulius Caesar (*PIR* II no.941); Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus became Germanicus Iulius Caesar (*PIR* II no.221); Marcus (Vipsania) Agrippa Postumus was adopted as Agrippa Iulius Caesar (*PIR* IV no.214).

original name, *praenomen* and *nomen*, into the Julio-Claudian imperial formula and this is quite unlike any previous *princeps*; it is a distinction in itself.

1.3 Another young Tiberius

The debate in progress above has revolved around many family members being called the Roman equivalent of John Smith. Too many John Smiths cause chaos for identification purposes, but this section will discuss what can be identified as the extant evidence for the younger pre-accession Tiberius Germanicus. Claudius was not the only *Claudii* to be named and use the *praenomen* Tiberius and that may be confused further in the sources by the *Iulii* using the *praenomen* as well, such as Tiberius Gemellus.¹⁰⁷ This section will outline the evidence that points specifically to the young Tiberius referring to Claudius. At birth he was initially Ti. Claudius Drusus, but the death of Tiberius and Julia's child at Aquileia in 10BC,¹⁰⁸ may have meant the change in Claudius' *cognomen* was in fact in honour of his uncle, as a mark of respect for the loss of the boy who would probably have been called Tiberius Claudius Nero.¹⁰⁹ The renaming of Claudius would also return the compliment of Tiberius naming his first son after Drusus, as the former had moved away from the tradition of sons inheriting their names from the father. In this respect alone it is difficult to believe that the infant Claudius was infirm or crippled. That Claudius was named at all may show a reduced or minimal possibility of a serious anatomical defect and a certain degree of health or robustness. Even though developmental disorders would not be apparent for the first six months, the fact that Tiberius' son with Iulia was unnamed, maybe means the parents were waiting to see if he would survive or that the infant did not live beyond eight days. Germanicus and Agrippina, plus Drusus Caesar and Claudia Livilla also had unnamed sons; it is maybe significant that in an era where infant mortality was a fact of life, that these three deaths were recorded while it is not reported whether or not any daughter's survived.

¹⁰⁷ See stemma of the *Claudii*, fig.1.3, for Ti. Iulius Caesar, although *praenomina* are not exclusive to certain families.

¹⁰⁸ Suet.*Tib.*9.

¹⁰⁹ See stemma fig.1.3 where Nero Claudius Ti.f.Drusus was the infant's brother, and Claudius' brother was also called Nero Claudius Drusus.

Augustus, his adopted heirs, plus Claudius with his inherited title Germanicus, are recorded on an inscription found on a public monument in Ticinum; Claudius is the only non-Julian male but is related to all of them and the only other reported *Drusi* on the inscription is his grandmother Livia. Agrippa Postumus, brother of Gaius and Lucius, is missing, partially disinherited in AD6 and then withdrawn completely from public life by Augustus.¹¹⁰ His omission from a family portrait group a year later makes the affair public and Augustus' decision relatively final. The reason for Claudius' inclusion is unexplained but the significance may be some form of acceptance by Augustus – Ticinum is where Augustus met the funeral cortege of Drusus en route to Rome from Germany¹¹¹ in 9BC. In AD7 Claudius would be seventeen, and probably two years after he took the *toga virilis*; it seems unlikely that he would be included in such an esteemed group if his health remained so poor, especially if one considers the fate of Agrippa Postumus – Augustus was still alive and the succession had only recently been cemented by the adoption of Tiberius and Germanicus. *Gallia Cisalpina* was not that remote from Rome to escape the displeasure of the *princeps* if the composition of the statue group defied his will. Livia is shown to be connected to Claudius on the inscription at Ticinum, and Augustus' letter to her regarding Claudius implies that she knew the boy well enough to be included in the decision making process regarding his future career. The apparent hostility of Antonia towards her son may have left Claudius to seek the counsel of his grandmother – or it may be jealousy of that which additionally provoked Antonia's animosity to the boy.¹¹² Antonia notwithstanding, Livia may have had influence on the naming of her grandson if she was present with Augustus and Tiberius in Lugdunum. It is doubtful that she would sanction anything that would detract from her son's, her father's and her own reputation, if any prenatal or perinatal injuries were evident or became severe;¹¹³ by AD7 it is unreasonable to assume benign acceptance of such a condition to the extent that Claudius is counted

¹¹⁰ Levick (1999) p.48ff., banished either on health grounds or because he was the figurehead for a revolutionary tendency. See Tac.*Ann.* I.6.2; Suet.*Aug.* 65.4.

¹¹¹ Tac.*Ann.* III.5; also W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, London 1854-1857. p.1205-6 for Ticinum; Claudius II received the title *imperator* at Ticinum whilst he commanded the garrison of the city; Aur.Vict. *Caes.*34.

¹¹² Suet.*Claud.* III.

¹¹³ Prenatal is the term of pregnancy before birth until the perinatal period which begins a few weeks before birth, includes the birth itself and a few weeks afterwards.

equal amongst his peers; although it is only speculation that she may have pressed for his inclusion in the family group at Ticinum. The fact that Claudius deified Livia may demonstrate some form of bond between them.

Momigliano's argument concerning the exaggerated historical tradition of 'Claudius ill health, the bodily and mental infirmity which disfigure his outward appearance and made him clumsy and absurd',¹¹⁴ seems to be reinforced by the Ticinum group portrait. If Claudius was held in such contempt and had such poor physical and mental qualities, Momigliano argues that it is difficult to believe he would be proclaimed emperor without 'opposition on personal grounds';¹¹⁵ the same argument can be made for Claudius' inclusion in the Ticinum group, even if it was raised by the inhabitants of the city in honour of Augustus' family.

The letters that Augustus wrote to Livia may be significant in the fact that he wrote them at all. He took the trouble to write and outline his concerns (for whatever reason) and he was writing to his wife – probably one or the other was away from Rome but it occupied enough of his time to commit his thoughts to paper. Unfortunately Suetonius does not record any reply to the letter or whether Livia did in fact share her thoughts with Antonia, as Augustus had granted permission for her to do so. The letters concern *Livia's* grandson, not *his* or *our* grandson, yet it recognises that Claudius is within the remit of the imperial house – Claudius is under Livia's watchful eye. If the problem was severe there would be an obvious solution, so Augustus is wrestling with something that needed consideration and therefore was neither an extreme situation nor a crisis. The more acute the family problem, the less thought the answer would require as remedial action would be a virtually automatic response. The use of *Tiberium adulescentem* (the young Tiberius) shows Augustus is not distant or distancing himself from Claudius regardless of the wordplay he uses when writing to Livia.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Momigliano (1961) p.2.

¹¹⁵ Momigliano (1961) p.2.

¹¹⁶ Suet.*Claud.*IV.5.

1.4 Onomastic Conclusions

The outcome of the analysis can be broken down into two distinct areas – health and identity. With regards to health, the main conclusion is the reduced prospect of any severe prenatal or perinatal injury resulting in deformity coupled with the chances of less severe adult symptoms than are reported in the sources. For identity, the emergence of the matrilineal *cognomen* Drusus and the exclusion of the patrilineal *cognomen* Nero after accession is a new development; the omission of the name Germanicus from the Praetorian coins in AD41 is a significant omission for Claudius having used the *agnomen* in the years preceding his accession.

It is difficult to retain the idea that the person being analysed here is called Claudius before AD41; the conditioning one undergoes by sources such as Suetonius makes it difficult to believe initially that he was ever anything else other than Claudius. The question has to be raised as to how he became known as Claudius and if that only occurred after his death in AD54. This brief insight into the complexity of the onomastic practices of the *Nerones* has demonstrated the confusion it can generate amongst historians, ancient and modern.

The most important factor in terms of identity is the use of Tiberius Germanicus from AD4 as a diacritic for Claudius at least until AD41, which means that before this date he does not seem to be ‘Claudius’ at all. After accession, his *praenomen* is constant and the *nomen* Claudius sets him apart from Tiberius on official documents. More analysis is required to establish if he retained Tiberius Germanicus and incorporated the official titles as necessary, or if Tiberius Claudius Caesar was the preferred identifier he actually used as *princeps*. This may have significance in terms of continuity of self-image and the personal identity of Claudius as perceived by the Romans.

The major conclusion to be drawn from this chapter is that by the initial choice of names of his Republican ancestry and imperial connections, there is no evidence and

no implication, that there were any health problems at Claudius' birth or in early infancy. The use of the *cognomen* Germanicus reflects Claudius affinity to his father and brother and acknowledges the tradition by taking the name as the senior *Claudii*. There is no suggestion in the sources of the unsuitability (for whatever reason) of such an illustrious named being used to identify Claudius. This conclusion will have an impact on any study of Claudius' illness as it will greatly reduce the chances of congenital disease.

SUMMARY

- Tiberius Claudius Drusus: Name at birth, the *cognomen* has links to his brother, father and grandmother. In addition the later incorporation of the name Drusus may reflect some policy decisions regarding the Provinces with a possible connection to M.Livius Drusus, consul of 90BC. Receiving such eminent names and the recording of his birth reduces the chances of there being a serious health problem at infancy.
- Tiberius Claudius Nero: The *cognomen* Nero replaces Drusus at some point, recalling Claudius' ancestry, but this is removed on accession maybe because it was of less intrinsic value as *princeps*
- Tiberius Germanicus: The use of *praenomen* and *agnomen* from AD4 to at least AD41, as senior male of Drusus' house and family seems the most likely answer to how Claudius was addressed during those years. Hypothesis could be drawn that he was not known as Claudius at all during this period.
- Claudius: used as *divus* Claudius and in the sources as Claudius, which were written after his death. Possibly for convenient identification by writers, but possibility of use of it as a nickname. See *Apocolocyntosis* for earliest reference to use of the *nomen* alone.
- The main conclusion to be taken from this analysis of names is the probability that Claudius' birth in Lyon presented no difficulties or produce any abnormalities - as far as the evidence will allow, he was a normal child named Tiberius like his uncle.

Fig.1.1 The names of Tiberius Claudius, Latin Inscriptions, by date.

	name		Germanici f.	Neroni		date	Sm.no.	type	place
1 Ti.	Claudio	Drusi	Germanici f.	Neroni		AD07-08		Inscription	Pavia or Ticinum
2 Ti.	Claudius	Nero	Germanicus			AD37		<i>Fasti</i>	Rome
3 Ti.	Claudius	Nero	Germ[anicus]			AD37		<i>Fasti</i>	Rome
4 Ti.	Claudius	Nero	Ger[m]			AD37/8	31	frag	Rome
5 [Ti.]	C[laudio]	[Dru]si	Germ.f.	Neroni		AD37-41	90	Inscription	Pola
6 *Tiberius	Claudius	Germanicus				AD40		Papyri	Chaeamon (Egypt?)
7 Ti.	Claudius	Drusi f.	Caesar	Aug.		AD41	335a	Inscription	Via Domitia (Gallia Narbonensis)
8 Ti.	Claudius	Drusi f.	Caesar	Aug.		AD41	335b	Inscription	Via Domitia (Gallia Narbonensis)
9 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD41		Sestertius	Rome
10 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD41		Dupondius	Rome
11 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD41		As	Rome
12 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD41		Sestertius	Rome
13 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD41		Dupondius	Rome
14 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD41		Dupondius	Rome
15 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD41		Quadrans	Rome
16 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD41		Quadrans	Rome
17 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD41		Quadrans	Lugdunum
18 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD41-2		Aureus	Rome
19 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD41-2		Denarius	Rome
20 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR	AVG	GERM.		AD41-2		Aureus	Rome
21 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR	AVG	GERM.		AD41-2		Denarius	Rome
22 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAES.	AVG			AD41-2?		Tetradrachm	Ephesus
23 [Ti.]	Claudio	Caesare	Aug.			AD41-4	171	frag	Rome
24 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus			AD42		<i>Fasti</i>	Rome
25 [Ti.]	Claud[i]o	Drusi f.	[Caesare	Aug.]	Germanico	AD42	286a	Inscription	Oescus (Moesia)
26 [Ti.]	Claudio	Drusi f.	Caesari]	Aug.	Germ.	AD42	405	Inscription	Hippo Regius (Africa)
27 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD42		Sestertius	Rome
28 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD42		Dupondius	Rome
29 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD42		Sestertius	Rome
30 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.	GERM.		AD42		Dupondius	Rome
31 Ti.	CLAVDIVS.	CAESAR.	AVG.	GERM.		AD42		Sestertius	Rome
32 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus			AD43		<i>Fasti</i>	Rome
33 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus	Germanicus		AD43	12	frag	Rome
34 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus	Germanicus		AD43/48	13	frag	Rome
35 Ti.	Claudius	Drusi f.	Caesar	August.	Germanicus	AD43-4	336	Inscription	Vienne
36 Ti.	Claudio	Drusi f.	Caes.	Aug.	Germ.	AD43-4	337	Inscription	Lugdunum

Fig.1.1 The names of Tiberius Claudius, Latin Inscriptions, by date.

37 Ti.	Claud.	Drusi f.	Caesar	Aug.	Germanic.	AD43-4	338	Inscription	Lugdunensis
38 Ti.	Claudio	Caesaris	Aug.	Germanico		AD43-4	430	Inscription	Moguntiacum
39 [Ti.]	C[laudio]	Drusi f.	Caesari	Aug[usto]	G[er]manico	AD43-4	431	Inscription	Rome
40 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG			AD43-4		Aureus	Rome
41 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG			AD43-4		Denarius	Rome
42 Ti.	Claudio	Drusi f.	Caesare	[Aug.]	Germanic[o]	AD44	286b	Inscription	Gospodjin Vir. (Moesia)
43 Ti.	Claud.	Caes.	Aug.	divi fil.	Ger.	AD44	407a	Inscription	Volubilis (Mauretania)
44 Ti.	Claudius	Drusi f.	Caesar	Aug.	Germanicus	AD44-5	308a	Inscription	Rome
45 [Ti.]	Cla[ud].	Drusi f.	C[laesar]	[Aug.]	Germ.	AD44-5	340	Inscription	Confluentes
46 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus	Germanicus		AD44-5	341	Inscription	Ilorda
47 Tib.	Claudio	Caesaris	Aug.	Germanico		AD44-5	406	Inscription	Ammaia (Lusitania)
48 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG			AD44-5		Aureus	Rome
49 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD44-5		Denarius	Rome
50 [Ti.]	Claudio]	Drusi f.	Caesari	Augusto	Germanico	AD45	131	Inscription	
51 *Tiberius	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus	Germanicus		AD45		Inscription	Rusellae (Etruria)
52 Ti.	Claud.	Drusi f.	Caesar	Aug.	Ger.	AD45-6	339	Inscription	Lugdunum
53 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Aug.	Germanicus		AD45-6	345	Inscription	Cyrene
54 [Ti.]	C[laudio]	Caesar	Augustus	[G[er]manicus]		AD46	343	Inscription	Sardinia
55 *Tiberius	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus	Germanicus		AD46		Papyri	Egypt
56 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus	Germanicus		AD46 Mar 16	368	Edict	Tridentum
57 Ti.	Claudius	Drusi f.	Caesar	Augustus	Germanicus	AD46/7	308b	Inscription	Rome
58 Ti.	Claudius	Drusi f.	Caesar	Aug.	Germanicus	AD46/7	312b	Inscription	Ostia
59 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus	Germanicus		AD46/7	328	Inscription	Meran
60 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.	GERM.		AD46?		Didrachm	Caesarea (Cappadocia)
61 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD46-7		Aureus	Rome
62 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.			AD46-7		Denarius	Rome
63 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus			AD47		Fasli	Rome
64 Ti.	Claudius	Drusi f.	Caesar	Aug.	Germanicus	AD47	329	Inscription	Foruli (Sabinum)
65 Ti.	Claudius	Drusi f.	Caesar	Aug.	Germanicus	AD47		Inscription	Feltia (Venetia)
66 Ti.	Claudi	Caesaris	Aug.	Germanici		AD47-8	99a	Inscription	Rome
67 Ti.	Claudio	Ca[lesar]e	Aug.	Germ.		AD47-8	287	Inscription	Vindonissa
68 [Ti.]	Claudius	Caes.	Aug.			AD47-8	311	Inscription	Rome
69 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Aug.	Germanicus		AD47-8	316	Inscription	Samos
70 [Ti.]	Claudius	Caesar	Aug[ustus]	Germanicus		AD47-8	344	Inscription	Dalmatia
71 Ti.	Caesar	Germanice	Aug			AD48	369	Speech	Lugdunum
72 Ti.	Claudius	Caisar	Aug	Germanicus		AD48-9	330	Inscription	Teate Marrucorum
73 Ti.	Claudius	Drusi f.	Caisar	Aug.	Germanicus	AD49	44	Inscription	Rome
74 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Aug.			AD49-50	317	Inscription	Mendips

Fig.1.1 The names of Tiberius Claudius, Latin Inscriptions, by date.

75 Ti.]	Claudius	Caesar	Aug.	G[erm]anicus	AD49-50	375	Edict	Tegea
76 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.		AD49-50		Aureus	Rome
77 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.		AD49-50		Denarius	Rome
78 [Ti.]	Claudius	Drusi f.	Caesar	Aug.	AD50	342	Inscription	Attalea (Pamphylia)
79 [Ti.]	Claudius	Drus[i] f.]	Caesar	Aug.	AD50	347	Inscription	
80 *Tiberius	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus	Germanicus	AD50		Papyri	Sarapis
81 Ti.	Claudi	Caes.	Aug.	Germ.	AD50/54	14	frag	Rome
82 Ti.	Claudi	Caes.	Aug.	Germanici	AD50/54	14	frag	Rome
83 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.		AD50-1		Aureus	Rome
84 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.		AD50-1		Denarius	Rome
85 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.		AD50-1		Tetradrachm	Ephesus
86 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAES.	AVG.	AGRIPP.	AD50-1?		Tetradrachm	Ephesus
87 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR	AVG	GERM	AD50-4		Aureus	Rome
88 Ti.	CLAVD	CAESAR	AVG	GERM	AD50-4		Denarius	Rome
89 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus		AD51		<i>Fasti</i>	Rome
90 Ti.	Claud[io]	Drusi f.	Ca[s]ari	Augusto	AD51/2	43b	Inscription	Rome
91 Ti.	Claudio	Drusi f.	Caesari	Aug.	AD51/2	45	Inscription	Cyzicus
92 [Ti.]	Claudio	Caesare	Aug.	German.	AD51/68	132b	frag	Rome
93 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.		AD51-2		Aureus	Rome
94 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.		AD51-2		Denarius	Rome
95 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.	GERM.	AD51-54		Aureus	Rome
96 Ti.	CLAVD.	CAESAR.	AVG.	GERM.	AD51-54		Denarius	Rome
97 Ti.	Claudius	Caesar	Augustus	Germanicus	AD52 Dec 11	295	Inscription	Stabiae
98 Ti.	Claudius	Drusi f.	Ca[s]ar	Augustus	AD52-3	309	Inscription	Rome
99 Ti.	Claudius	Drusi f.	C[ae]s.	Aug.	AD52-4	288	Inscription	Bonna
100 [Ti.]	Claud[i]us	Drusi f.	Caesar	August[us]	AD52-4	318	Inscription	Sardis
101 Ti.	Claudio	Drusi f.	Caesari	Aug.	AD53-4	320	Inscription	Lepcis Magna
102 Claud.	Caesaris				AD74 after		Inscription	Rome
103 Ti.	Claudi	Caesaris	Aug.	Ge[r]manici		228	Inscription	Rome
104 Ti.	Claudi	Caesaris	Augusti			224	Inscription	Rome
105 Ti.	Claudi	Caesaris	Augusti	Germanici		227	Inscription	Rome
106 Ti.	Claudi	Caesaris	Aug.	[Germanici		227	Inscription	Rome
107 [Ti.]	Claudio	Augusto	Germanico			231c	Inscription	Rome
108 Ti.	Claudi	Caes[ar]is	Aug.			231c	Inscription	Rome
109 Ti.	Claudio	Caesare	[August]to	Germanico		232	Inscription	Arretium (Etruria)
110 Ti.	Claud.	Caes.	Aug.	Ger.		233	Inscription	Rome
111 Ti.	Cl.	Caes.	Aug.	Ger.		234	Inscription	Suasa (Umbria)
112 Ti.	Claudi	Caesaris	Aug.	Germanici		234	Inscription	Suasa (Umbria)
						235	Inscription	Rome

Fig.1.1 The names of Tiberius Claudius, Latin Inscriptions, by date.

113 Ti.	Claudi	Claesaris	Augusti		236	Inscription	Tusculum
114 Ti.	Claudi	Caesar.	Aug.	Germanici	263	Inscription	Corinth
115 Ti.	Claudi	Caesaris	Aug.	Germanic[i]	307b	Inscription	Rome
116 Ti.	Cl[au]d[ius]	Caes[ar]	Aug.		331	Inscription	Viterbo
117 Ti.	Claudi	Caesaris	Aug.	Germ.	332	Inscription	Materia
118 Ti.	Claudi	Germanic[i]	Aug.		348	Inscription	Amastris (Pontus)
119 Ti.	Claudi	Caesaris	Aug.	Germanici	378	Inscription?	Asturica (Tarraconensis)
120 Ti.	Claudii	Germanici				<i>Fasti</i>	Rome
121 Ti.	Clau[di]	Caes.	Aug.	nat.]		<i>Fasti</i>	Rome
122 Ti.	Claudi	Caesaris	Aug.	Germanici	258	Inscription	Iulium Carnicum (Venetia)
123 Ti.	Claudio	Caesari	Aug.	Germanico		Text	Rome
124 *Tiberius	Claudius	Germanicus				Inscription	Ilium
125 *Tiberius	Claudius	Caesar				Inscription	Aphrodisias (Caria)

Note 1: the *Sm.no.* refers to Smallwood
 Note 2: * denotes a translated inscription

Fig.1.2 The names of Tiberius Claudius, Greek Inscriptions, by date.

	name	date	Sm.no.	type	place
126	Τιβεριου	Κλαυδιω	Καισαρος	Σεβαστου	Γερμανικου
127	Τιβερ[ι]ου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρο[ς]	Σεβαστου	Γερμανικ[ου]
128	Κλαυδιου	Καισα[ρ]ος	Σεβαστου	Σεβα[στ]ος	Γερμανικου
129	Τιβεριου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρο[ς]	ΣΕΒΑ.	ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ.
130	ΤΙ.	ΚΛΑΥΔΙ.	ΚΑΙΣ.	ΑΥΤΟΚΡ.	ΑΥΤΟΚΡ.
131	Τιβερ[ι]ος	Κλαυδιος	Καισαρ	Γερμανικος	ΑΥΤΟΚΡ.
132	Τιβεριου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρος	Σεβαστου	αυτοκρατορος, δ
133	Τιβερ[ι]ον	Κλαυδιον	Καισαρος	Σεβαστο[ς]	Γερμανικου
134	Τιβεριου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρος	Σεβαστου	Γερμανικου
135	Τιβεριου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρος	Σεβαστου	Γ
136	ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟ	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟ	ΕΤΟΥΣ	Γ
137	Τιβερ[ι]ος	Κλαυδιος	Κλαυδιος	Σεβαστος	Γερμανικος
138	Τιβερ[ι]ου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρι	Σεβαστ[ω]	Γερμανικος
139	ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ	ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ	ΓΕΡΜ.	Γερμανικος
140	Τιβερ[ι]ος	Κλαυδιος	Καισαρ	Σεβαστος	Γερμανικος
141	Τιβεριου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρος	Σεβαστου	Γερμανικ[ω]
142	Τιβερ[ι]ος	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρ	Σεβαστος	Γερμανικ[ω]
143	Τιβερ[ι]ον	Κλαυδιον	Καισαρος	Σεβαστου	Γερμανικ[ω]
144	Τιβεριου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρος	Σεβαστου	Γερμανικ[ω]
145	Τιβερ[ι]ος	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρ	Σεβαστου	αυτοκρατορα
146	Τιβερ[ι]ος	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρ	Σεβαστ[ω]	Γερμανικος
147	Τιβεριου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρος	Σεβαστου	Γερμανικος
148	Τιβερ[ι]ον	Κλαυδιον	Καισαρ	Σεβαστος	Γερμανικ[ω]
149	ΤΙ.	ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ	ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ	Γερμανικ[ω]
150	Τιβερ[ι]ω	Κλαυδιω	Καισαρι	Σεβαστ[ω]	Γερμανικ[ω]
151	Τιβερ[ι]ω	Κλαυδιω	Καισαρι	Σεβαστ[ω]	Γερμανικ[ω]
152	Τιβερ[ι]ον	Κλαυδιον	Καισαρος	Σεβαστου	Γερμανικ[ω]
153	Σεβαστον	Κλαυδι[ον]	Καισαρος	Σεβαστος	αυτοκρατορος
154	ΤΙ.	Κλαυδιον	Καισαρ	Σεβαστος	αυτοκρατορ[ω]
155	Τιβερ[ι]ον	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρος	Σεβαστου	Γερμανικ[ω]
156	Τιβερ[ι]ον	Κλαυδιον	Καισαρ	Σεβαστου	Γερμανικ[ω]
157	Τιβερ[ι]ον	Κλαυδιον	Καισαρ	Σεβαστου	Γερμανικ[ω]
158	ΤΙ.	ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ	ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ	αυτοκρατορ[ω]
159	ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ	ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	Καισαρ	Σεβαστος	αυτοκρατορ[ω]
160	Τιβερ[ι]ου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρος	Σεβαστου	αυτοκρατορ[ω]

Fig.1.2 The names of Tiberius Claudius, Greek Inscriptions, by date.

161 T<I>βερτιου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρος	Γερμανικου	Γερμ[μ]ανικου	Ιστριανων	242a	Inscription	Cyprus
162 Τιβεριου	Κλαυδιου	[Κ]αισαρος	Σεβαστου	Γερμ[μ]ανικου		265	Inscription	Iconium (Lycaonia)
163 [Τιβεριοσ]	Κλαυδιοσ	Καισαρ	Σεβασ[τοσ]	Γερμανικος		346	Inscription	Hierapytna (Crete)
164 Τιβεριου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρος	[Γ]ερμανικου			380	Edict	Ephesus
165 [Τιβ.	Κλαυδιου]	Καισαρος	Σεβ.	Γερμανικου		384	Letter	Histria (Moesia)
166 Σεβαστου	Γερμανικο[υ]	Καισαρ[τοσ]				387	Text	Duver (Pisidia)
167 Τιβεριου	Κλαυδιου	Καισαρος				408	Inscription	Cibyra (Caria)
168 [ΤΙ.	ΚΛ]ΑΔ[Ι]ΟΣ	ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	ΣΕΒ[ΑΣΤΟΣ]			42	Silver coin	Lycia

Note: Sm.no. refers to Smallwood

The names of Tiberius Claudius, Latin and Greek inscriptions, by date.
Notes for Figs. 1.1 and 1.2

- 1 *ILS* 107; extant in *Codex Einsidlensis*; Ehrenberg & Jones 61
- 2 *Fasti Ostienses*; from 1st July; see Braund 174
- 3 E&J p43
- 4 frag of *fasti Ostienses*
- 5 *ILS* 198; Suet *Cl* 4,7; 6,2; Tac *Ann* 1.54.1-2
- 6 Braund 760; *PRyl* 148
- 7 *CII* xii 5586-7,5589-90,5595,5608,5610-12,5620-1; Milestones between Nemausus and Arelate
- 8 *CIL* xii.5634,cf. 5631,5635-6,5645-7,5655,5661; Milestones between Nemausus and Arelate
- 9 BMC *Imp I*, p181-3 nos 115-135;Obv. note 121-3 NERO.CLAVDIVS DRVSVS. GERMAN IMP. Rev. See Smallwood 93,98b; Suet *Cl*. 27.2
- 10 BMC *Imp I*, p183-4 nos136-7; imitations nos 138-9; Obv. See Smallwood 312a
- 11 BMC *Imp I*, p184-6 nos 140-2, 145-6,149; Imitations nos 143-4, 147-8, 150-7. Obv. See Smallwood 37,92
- 12 BMC *Imp I*, p186-7 nos 157-65; Rev. NERO.CLAVDIVS.DRVSVS.GERMANICUS. Obv.
- 13 BMC *Imp I*, p188 nos 166-171; Rev.of ANTONIA AVGVSTA Obv. See BMC no 213
- 14 BMC *Imp I*, p189 no 172, Hybrid with same legend on Obv and Rev.
- 15 BMC *Imp I*, p189 nos 173-180; Obv. See Smallwood 40
- 16 BMC *Imp I*, p 190 nos 181-184; See Smallwood 94; Dio LX 3.2
- 17 BMC *Imp I*, p196 no.227, Issue celebrating Claudius' 50th birthday; See Smallwood 91
- 18 BMC *Imp I*. p164-5 nos 1, 3-8; Obv. Nos 5.8 are Praetorian coins; See Smallwood 36,38,39
- 19 BMC *Imp I*, p164-6 nos 2,9-10; Obv. No.2 de Germanis on rev.; 9-10 are Praetorian coins; see Smallwood 41
- 20 BMC *Imp I*, p166 nos 11-12; p167 nos 16-17; Obv.
- 21 BMC *Imp I*, p166-7 nos 13-15, 18-19; Obv.
- 22 BMC *Imp I*, p196 nos 228-230; Obv. See Smallwood 130
- 23 lines14,20 from *Fasti Antiates ministrorum domus Augustae*
- 24 Dio LX 10.1
- 25
- 26
- 27 BMC *Imp I*, p190-1 nos 185-95, Imitation no.196; Obv.
- 28 BMC *Imp I*, p191-2 nos 197-207; Obv.
- 29 BMC *Imp I*, p192-3 nos 208-12; Rev. of NERO.CLAVDIVS. DRVSVS.GERMANICVS
- 30 BMC *Imp I*, p193-4 nos 214-218; Rev. of GERMANICVS.CAESAR.TI.AVG.F.DIVI AVG.N.; See Smallwood 97; Suet *Cl*. 11.2
- 31 BMC *Imp I*, p194 nos 219-23; Rev. of AGRIPPINA.M.F.GERMANICI.CAESARIS
- 32
- 33 lines 9 and 16
- 34

- 35 *CIL* xii.5542, cf. 5546; Milestone on Lugdunum-Arelate road
 36 *CIL* xiii.9055; Milestone on Lugdunum-Genava road
 37 *ILS* 8900; Milestone on Cavillonum-Andemantunnum road
 38 *CIL* xii.6797
 39 *ILS* 203
 40 *BMC Imp I*, p167 nos 20,22; Obv.
 41 *BMC Imp I*, p167 no21; Obv.
 42
 43
 44 *CIL* vi.31565d; inscription on the *Aqua Virgo*
 45 *CIL* xii.9145; Milestone on Colonia Agrippina-Moguntiacum road
 46 *CIL* ii.6324, cf.4929; Milestone on Osca-Barcino (Tarraconensis) road
 47
 48 *BMC Imp I*, p168 nos 23,26,28; Obv.
 49 *BMC Imp I*, p168 nos 24-5,27; Obv.
 50 Gordon , 90
 51 Braund 211; V.Saladino *ZPE* 39 (1980) no.24
 52 *CIL* xiii.8909, cf. 8908,8919; Milestone on Lugdunum-Augustonemetum road
 53 First milestone on Cyrene-Balagrae road
 54 Milestone on Carales-Turris (Sardinia) road
 55 Braund 730; *Sel.Pap* 2 no.329, an oath of fishermen
 56 *ILS* 216 see Smallwood; Edict of Claudius; line 4 name repeated from line2
 diff. Case
 57 *ILS* 205; inscription on the *Aqua Virgo*
 58 *ILS* 207; near Ostia
 59 *CIL* v.8003; milestone in the upper Athesis valley
 60 *BMC Imp I*, p198 nos 237-40
 61 *BMC Imp I*, p168-70 nos 29-30,32-4, 36-7, 39, 42-4; Obv. See Smallwood
 43a
 62 *BMC Imp I*, p169-70 nos 31,35,38,40-1, 45-7; Obv.
 63
 64 *ILS* 209; *cippus* (tombstone)
 65 *ILS* 208; E&J 363a; between 1st and 25th Jan AD47
 66 line 1 and 4;*ILS* 210; *CIL* vi.917,31282
 67 *CIL* xiii.11514; legionary camp in Germania Superior
 68 *ILS* 211; nr the Tiber
 69 *IGRR* iv.1711
 70 *CIL* iii.13329 cf. 13330-1; milestone on Burnum-River Sana (Dalmatia) road
 71 *ILS* 212; Claudius speech to the Senate
 72 *CIL* ix.5973
 73 *ILS* 213;
 74 *CIL* vii.1201; inscription on lead pig; note titles following *Aug p.m.trib.p.viii*
imp.xvi de Britan.
 75 *ILS* 214; Edict of Claudius
 76 *BMC Imp I*, p171-2 nos 48,-9,51,54,56; OBV.
 77 *BMC Imp I*, p171-2 nos 50,52,55; Obv.
 78 *CIL* ii.4644; Milestone on Emerita-Salmantica (Lusitania) road
 79 *ILS*, 215
 80 Braund 761; *POxy* 2837
 81
 82
 83 *BMC Imp I*, p172-3 nos 57-8,60-1,64; Obv.
 84 *BMC Imp I*, p173 nos 59,62-3,66-7; Obv.

- 85 BMC *Imp I*, p197 nos 234-5; See Smallwood 102a
- 86 BMC *Imp I.*, p197 nos 231-33; Obv.
- 87 BMC *Imp I*, p174-5 nos 72-4; Obv.
- 88 BMC *Imp I*, p175 nos 75-77; Obv. Imitations nos 77-78
- 89
- 90 *ILS* 213; prob from Triumphal arch
- 91 *ILS* 217; Truimphal arch
- 92 *ILS*, 5025 (ref Sodales Augustales Claudiales)
- 93 BMC *Imp I*, p174 nos 68,70; Obv.
- 94 BMC *Imp I*, p174 nos 69,71; Obv.
- 95 BMC *Imp I*, p175 no 79; Obv
- 96 BMC *Imp I*, p175 nos 80-1; Obv.
- 97 CIL xvi.1; military diploma
- 98 *ILS* 218; inscription on the *Aqua Claudia*; see Smallwood
- 99 legionary camp in *Germania Inferior*
- 100 CIL iii.409
- 101 *IRT* 338; also see 337 dated AD45-6 and 339-440
- 102 *ILS* 986; ref to Ti. Caesaris, assoc of Claudius in Britain, and imp. Caesar Aug. Vespasianus
- 103 see Sen. *Apoc.* 11.2; Suet *Claud.* 17.3; *ILS* 954 re Mauretania?
- 104 ref to Drusus son by Plautia Urganilla ?; *ILS* 964
- 105 as no.37 above
- 106 repeated lines 4-5,8-9 ;sepulchran inscription of Q. Veranius consul of AD49
- 107 line 7 of above; possible that Caesare could replace Augusto ?
- 108 *ILS* 969
- 109 *ILS* 966
- 110 *ILS* 967; see Smallwood
- 111 as 44
- 112 *ILS* 955; see Smallwood
- 113 *ILS* 957; see Smallwood
- 114
- 115 *ILS* 5926; in the Campus Martius
- 116 CIL xi.2999; inscription on bridge on *Via Cassia*, nr. Vitervo
- 117 *ILS* 5889; 12 miles SE of Tregeste (Histria); name repeated line 4.
- 118 *ILS*, 5883; *IGRR* iii.83
- 119 near Asturica
- 120 *Fasti Anni Vallenses*, CIL I. P240; birth on 1st August 10BC; E&J p50
- 121 *Fasti Anni Antiates*, CIL I, p217; birth on 1st August 10BC; E&J p50
- 122 *ILS* 1349; E&J 243
- 123 *ILS* 244; E&J 364; *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*; note Tiberioque Iulio Caesari Aug. Tiberioque Claudio Caesari Aug. Germanico
- 124 E&J 93;
- 125 Braund 213; KT Erim, *Britannia* 13 (1982) p277-81
- 126 Bell p1-37; Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians; col.1 name repeated in col.2
- 127 *IGRR* iv.1608, dedication to Claudius; heading of letter of AD41 and decree missing from #372
- 128 Acta Isodori, trial before Claudius. Col 1 fragmentary, Τ1β. May be missing? Κλαυδιος Καίσαρ used on 10 occasions
- 129 Private letter
- 130
- 131

- 132 Edict of the prefect of Egypt; note Γερμανικείου refers to the month, see Smallwood, Suet *Gaius* 15.2
- 133 identical name repeated in line 5; see Smallwood note 1 - depiction of Claudius on relief.IGRR,1.1165
- 134 line 1; 1 mile SW of Cyrene
- 135 line 6
- 136 Rev. of coin of Herod; ref Jos. *AJ* xix.277-8;338; xx.13-16; 104-4; Dio LX.8.2
- 137 Letter from Claudius to guild of Dionysiac artists;list of names four using Κλαυδιος as a praenomen/nomen
- 138 As above
- 139 Obv. coin of Agrippa 1; BMC, *Palestine* p238 no.23. Reverse shows kneeling fig. being crowned
- 140 Letter from Claudius to guild of travelling athletes; name repeated line 16; two examples of abbreviation Τιβ.Κλ., line 15
- 141 IGRR I.1262; Edict of prefect of Egypt, at temple of Hibis; see Smallwood.Name repeated col 3 line77-8 Ref to Καισαρος col 2 line 36
- 142 Letter from Claudius to the guild of Dionysiac artists
- 143 IGRR,1.1161
- 144 Petition to strategos of Oxyrhynchus; name repeated in line15
- 145 ref to Σεβαστον lines 12,17,20
- 146 Letter of Claudius; see Smallwood
- 147 IGRR I.1118; Edict of prefect of Egypt, at Fayum
- 148 IGRR I.1124; name preceded by θεου
- 149 BMC, *Lycia* p38 no.5; see Suet *Cl.* 25.3; Dio LX.17.3
- 150 IGRR, iv,208-9
- 151 ref to Imperial cult
- 152 IGRR, iv.584 line7. Note ref to Τιβεριον Κλαιδιον Και[σαρος Βρεταννικον
- 153 lines 1-2 as above
- 154 line 1;ref to Τιβεριον Κλαυδιον Καισαρα Βριταννικον line 3
- 155 line 4
- 156 line 5
- 157 IG,II/III,3274; SEG, xxii.153
- 158 see note Smallwood, JRS LI (1961) p112-118
- 159 Smallwood 231a shows Τιβεριου και Γα[ι]ο[υ] Σεβαστου in Cyanaea (Lycia)
- 160 IGRR iv.902; line 2 repeated at 4
- 161 note the inclusion different titles Γα]ιου Καισαρος Σεβαστου and Νερονος Κλαυδιου Κα[ι]σαρος
- 162 also Νερονος [Κ]λαυδιου Καισαρος <Σ>ε<β>α[στ]ου Γερμανικου [Γ]αλα[τ]ικης
- 163 IGRR I.1013 cf.980
- 164 Edict of proconsul of Asia; ref to Τιβεριου Καισαρος [Σεβαστου, col. 2
- 165 Letters of legates under Claudius and Nero. Ref to Καισαρος line 34 and Σεβαστων line 38. Note the abbreviated Τιβ may be an error
- 166 name preceded by θεου possible it may be Claudius? Or Augustus and Germanicus?
- 167 IGRR iv.914; inscription in the theatre
- 168 BMC, *Lycia* p38 no.5; see Suet *Cl.* 25.3; Dio LX.17.3

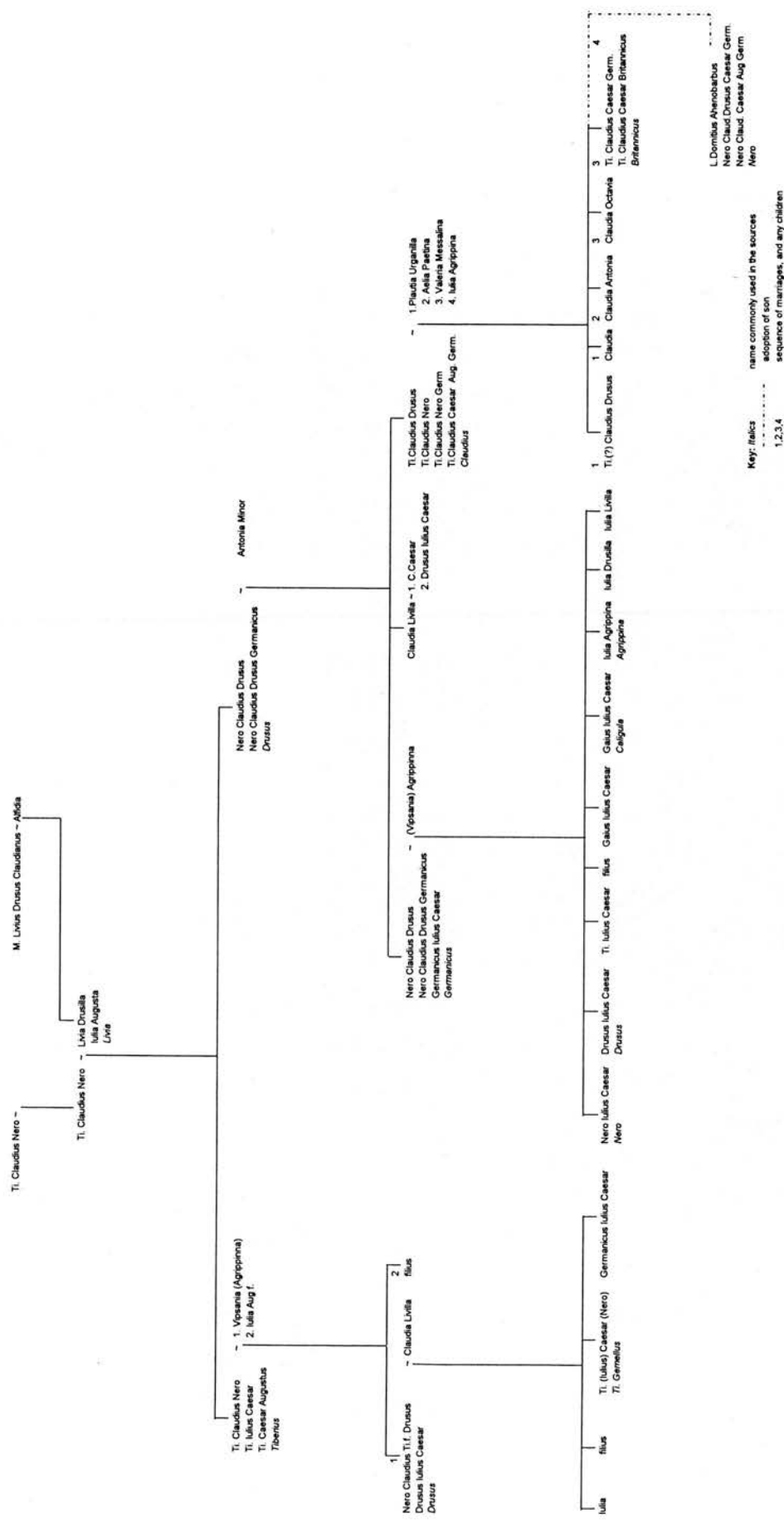


Fig. 1.3 Revised Stemma of the *Claudii*, including those later adopted or born into the gens *Iulii* (modified from *PIR* vol.IV.)

2. A renaissance in *Antiquities*: Tiberius Germanicus and the *Germani*

*The best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft a-gley*¹

The events surrounding the accession of Claudius are complex, but throughout, the central character in the drama is a man who is later ridiculed and vilified as morally, physically and intellectually weak. This chapter intends to examine the events as reported in the earliest surviving source, Josephus; Suetonius and Cassius Dio will be discussed separately in the following chapter and neither assessment will concentrate on the political or constitutional problems. Tacitus' chapters describing the murder of Gaius and the accession do not survive. The aim of this chapter is to identify whether any impairment is reported, and if so, to what extent; if there is no description of mental or physical infirmity it will be viewed as a positive result, one that will have an impact on the medical evaluation of Claudius. The intention is to place in context the physical and mental attributes of Claudius in the tense and volatile atmosphere hours after the death of Gaius, and to suggest that Claudius was not viewed by the protagonists as physically or mentally weak in the lead-up to his acclamation as *princeps*.

A methodical assessment of the evidence is required in order to untangle some of the problems of sequencing that may occur from Josephus using more than one source, in two different accounts in *Antiquities* – these will be reviewed in the chronological order they appear in the text. The aim is to assess the consistency of the version of events and, as a consequence, the plausibility of the portrait of Claudius. The first step is an outline of the events that took place on the Palatine and in Rome on the 24th January AD41.

A further important aspect in understanding how events developed is the function of the imperial bodyguard, the *Germani* (also known as by their tribal name *Batavi*).

¹ Robert Burns, *To a Mouse* 39-40.

These horseguards will be shown to have a pivotal role in the aftermath of the end of Gaius.

An examination of names given by Josephus and onomastic practice of the *Batavi* will demonstrate the relationship of the *Germani* to the *princeps* and the possible connection to Claudius as a citizen and consular; this will provide context for where and how Claudius was sited in relationship to the Germans, the Praetorians and the Senate. The case studies of Sabinus and Gratus establish that these decisive players were not Roman citizens, and will demonstrate that their importance and influence has been underestimated by other studies.

A discussion of how the *Germani* were connected to Claudius and their involvement in the acclamation will form the final section. The point to be emphasised is that Claudius was not only a candidate for accession, but also a prime target for being murdered; it is this dichotomy that causes the confusion in the sources when he is discovered. Being found by Gratus, who will be identified as a member of the *Germani*, changes the dynamic of events and thwarts the assassins' plans for regime change. On both counts Claudius was seen as a viable candidate for *princeps*, otherwise why promote him and why try to murder him? If the Germans found Claudius, then the Praetorian debates that took place take on a different hue - and challenges the orthodox interpretation that they were bounced into rubber-stamping a decision made by a single soldier who discovered Claudius. Events would have changed significantly if the Germans protected Claudius from harm, and allowed him to be a considered choice by the Praetorians who were not to be browbeaten by the Senate into accepting their Republican vision. In the light of the following analysis, the orthodox position that a frightened and weak Claudius, hailed emperor by a lone trooper, a pathetic figure dragged from the palace, a puppet having to buy the acclamation of the Praetorians is simply untenable.

The assassination of the emperor Gaius on 24th January AD41 created a power vacuum; one that was not entirely unknown to the Roman political establishment, as in the hours after the death of Julius Caesar in 44BC, there was no apparent successor. The ancient sources treat these events in markedly different manners and

it is notable that Suetonius and Dio devote much less time and space to such a momentous occasion than Josephus in the Jewish *Antiquities*.

Josephus' account of Gaius' murder and the accession of Claudius in *Antiquities* is significantly longer than that of Suetonius or Dio, and much longer than his earlier attempt in the *Jewish War*; Goud's proposal is that Josephus was unable to resist the story, needed something to spice up his history, and increase the length sufficiently to reach the required twenty books of his model Dionysius of Halicarnassus.²

Mommsen proposed that Josephus used a single Latin source, Cluvius Rufus, but as Goud points out the discussions to date are based on three assumptions: that *Ant.*XIX.1-273 is a stand-alone irrelevant digression, derived from a single source and which was Latin not Greek.³ Wiseman recognises the implausibility of the single-source theory and puts forward the notion of two Latin sources plus Josephus' own input which he outlines as the inclusion of the role of Agrippa.⁴ For a demolition of Mommsen's assertion that the anecdote recounting the conversation Cluvius Rufus held in the theatre could only have come from Rufus himself, and therefore be the solitary source for *Antiquities*, refer to Feldman.⁵

Josephus' account is in two defined and distinct sections; the planning and murder of Gaius, *Ant.*1-211, and the accession of Claudius, lines 212-277. The sharp break between them has led scholars to propose different sources for the murder and for the accession.⁶ Claudius is depicted as fearful and weak, a figure open to ridicule (line 212, similar to Suet.*Claud* 10 and Dio 60.1.2), but Josephus presents him as the imperial candidate for the Praetorians in lines 162-5 – a man of such dignity and noble position that he could not be prevented from leaving the theatre before Gaius (line 102). These two opposing views of Claudius correspond to the accession and the murder respectively, and Goud concludes that the differing portraits are 'the

² T.E. Goud, 'The sources of Josephus *Antiquities* 19', 1996 p472 note 1 for Thackeray on Josephus.

³ Goud (1996) p.473, and note 7 cites Wiseman.

⁴ T.P. Wiseman, *The Death of an Emperor* (1991) p.93; section regarding Agrippa, Wiseman (1991) examines lines 237-245.

⁵ Feldman 'The Sources of Josephus' *Antiquities*, book 19', 1962 p.322-28; For support of Mommsen's theory, see Wiseman (1991) Appendix 2, p.11 ff.

⁶ Goud (1996) p.476-7 argues for three explicit sections, planning, execution and accession. I would agree with his rationale to extend the orthodox termination of the section at line 273 (after the suicide of Sabinus) to beyond Claudius' actions immediately after accession, ending at line 278, where Josephus moves his narrative to affairs in Alexandria.

products of independent traditions'.⁷ I would take this further and emphasise that Claudius is favourably compared to the madness and extremity of Gaius' behaviour (being measured against the rival claimants) against a possible return to Republican government through the Senate. The former accepts an 'imperial constitution', the latter promotes the virtue of senatorial control; the significance is that whilst Gaius' demise is being described, Claudius is a credible alternative to both Gaius, and the Senate. After line 212 Claudius is chosen as emperor and Agrippa is pushed to the fore, persuading Claudius to seize the initiative, acting as a go-between for the Senate and acceding to the throne in Judaea. Feldman mentions that Agrippa II may be the root of the unfavourable tradition as he was prevented from accession by Claudius.⁸ However, Suetonius makes no mention of Agrippa's role, and Dio omits him altogether from the events surrounding Claudius' accession, so it is possible that the negative representation is not from a Roman senatorial source, but a Jewish one.⁹ Agrippa II was a close friend of Josephus and he was not enamoured of Claudius.¹⁰ The favourable picture may come from Claudius' autobiography, especially as the freedmen Pallas and Callistus are prominent,¹¹ but this is refuted by Scherberich who says pro-Claudian sources in Josephus' account are not evidence of Claudius' own version,¹² especially as one would expect more anecdotal reporting of the speeches. Scherberich's view is compelling because Josephus would therefore have had evidence of what Claudius said at any given moment if he was using the autobiography and that does not seem to be the case.

Josephus' *Jewish War* 2.204-217 also contains the events of Claudius' accession, and in some respects this depicts a more proactive role for Claudius, one where Agrippa has a lesser role of mediator and Claudius is the one who takes decisive action – the favourable portrait relates to Goud's theory of a favourable source used in

⁷ Goud (1996) p.478.

⁸ Feldman (1962) p.332-3.

⁹ Goud (1996) p.479; note 17; Wiseman cites the version in *Bell. Ios.* II.206-10 of Agrippa's involvement, for an alternative Jewish source unfavourable to Claudius.

¹⁰ *Jos. Vita* 362-7; Goud p.480, and note 18; Feldman (1962) p.332-3 also adds Aliturus, a Jewish actor as a possible source, who was a friend of Poppea Sabina, and a favourite of Nero; also Thaumastus, a slave of Gaius (*Ant.* XIX.162-5) who eventually served Agrippa and Agrippa II, so he may have known many of the stories regarding both families.

¹¹ *Ant.* XVIII.180-1; *Ant.* XIX.162-5; Goud (1996) p.481.

¹² K. Scherberich, 'Josephus und seine Quellen im 19. Buch der *Antiquitates Iudaicae* (*Ant.* 19,1-273)', 2000 p.149ff. and note 39.

Antiquities.¹³ Chaerea plays a central role in the murder of Gaius in *Ant.*XIX.17-211 which, linked to the positive view of Claudius, and the hatred of Gaius, need not have come from a Roman source; the idealising of Chaerea and his execution of despotism may show a senatorial source, as the assassin of an emperor is not vilified here. The outcome would be a benefit for the Senate, at least before Claudius became a factor.¹⁴ There is no reason why a single senatorial source could not be favourable towards Claudius.¹⁵ Scherberich argues that Josephus did not use Claudius' autobiography, and that may hold water, as he puts forward the sources used were, a monograph on Cassius Chaerea, Cluvius Rufus, and Fabius Rusticus plus personal input from Josephus himself.¹⁶ Wiseman identifies the main source of *Ant.*XIX.1-273 as Cluvius Rufus, and the secondary sources as including possibly Fabius Rusticus who was a friend of Seneca and therefore opposed to senatorial control and possibly pro-Claudian (or pro-imperial).¹⁷ Feldman proposes that Aufidius Bassus and Servilius Nonianus could be the literary sources used by Josephus.¹⁸

The second account of the accession by Josephus, found in *Antiquities*, will be used as the baseline version of Claudius' accession for two reasons;¹⁹ out of all the

¹³ Goud (1996) p.480-1.

¹⁴ See Goud (1996) p.480; the difficulty is in appraising whether Claudius was seen as a factor before the murder of Gaius, either in a physical sense i.e. his *presence*, or in the sense that he could *represent* a continuation of power, or both, or neither.

¹⁵ The assumption by Goud and others is that any favourable comment cannot be senatorial and must lie elsewhere.

¹⁶ Scherberich (2000) p.140-1, see p.137-8 for a sectional breakdown of events and sources regarding lines XIX.1-273.

¹⁷ See table, Wiseman (1991) p.xiii. It should be noted that a friend of Seneca's siding with Claudius holds a certain irony.

¹⁸ Feldman p.333.

¹⁹ The version of the accession in the *Jewish War* II.204-214 (see *Ant.*XVIII.308, XIX.201, 236ff., 246-254, 263-277) will not be considered, apart from indirectly, due to the sparseness of the account and the concentration on Agrippa's involvement as the arbitrator in the negotiations between Claudius and the senate. On Josephus' reliability as a historian, 'Almost everything in *Antiquities* and *Contra Apion*, as well as a good deal of the *Jewish War*, comes from sources other than Josephus' own experience', and 'He simply depended on sources he trusted', and this could be detrimental to his work, S. Mason, 'How Reliable is Josephus?' 1997 p.62 (M.P. Speidel, *Riding for Caesar: The Roman Emperor's Horse Guards*, 1994 p.23ff. and *CIL* 8803). Also see L.H.Feldman 'The Sources of Josephus' *Antiquities*, book 19', 1962 p.320-33. Mason outlines Josephus' practice of keeping close to a sources content, but either paraphrasing, editing or splicing the content into his narrative to make the point for him; changes of source material can therefore cause accounts to intersect. The result is in some cases that 'Josephus considerably alters his portrayal of the later Hasmoneans. Inaccuracy with numbers and sizes is a similar failing to other sources, but 'Josephus writes histories, offering comprehensive explanations of causes and effects' (Mason p62), which may be a solid launching pad for understanding the accounts he has written on the death of Gaius and the accession of Claudius. Also the version by T.P.Wiseman, *Death of an Emperor*, 1991, gives a full translation and

versions, chronologically this history was written closest to the events, and Josephus provides the most detailed and the longest extant account. Josephus in *Antiquities* writes of three different conspiracies to assassinate Gaius: Aemilius Regulus hated the injustices of Gaius' regime;²⁰ Annus Vinicianus wanted to avenge the execution of M. Aemilius Lepidus;²¹ and Cassius Chaerea, a military tribune of the Praetorians, had been regularly humiliated by Gaius.²² The three decided to act together in order to save Rome and the empire from destruction, and ironically Chaerea wanted to win a better reputation for himself – it was Chaerea as military tribune who had access to Gaius.²³ The first version of the murder is outlined to allow comparison with the second more pertinent account.

It is paradoxical that Chaerea was disgusted by carrying out the awful tasks ordered by the emperor, such as the torture of Quintilia, as the Praetorians, in their position as bodyguards, were acting as the agents of Gaius; they were executioners and not soldiers, which for Chaerea and Josephus implied a lack of honour.²⁴ Cornelius Sabinus, another Military tribune of the Praetorians, joined the conspiracy because he preferred 'independence' to the present form of government.²⁵

The following sections set the scene for the assassination, though they do not try to map the political affiliations or the factions of all the protagonists. Chaerea entered the Senate, and found that the plot had reached many people and 'everybody who was there had arms – members of the Senate and of the equestrian order and all of the soldiers στρατιωτικώς who were privy to the plot'.²⁶ This may include some or all of the troops under the command of the tribunes – the least number of troops involved seems the most likely on the grounds of secrecy. The idea that all the

commentary of Jos.*Ant.*XIX.1-273, and T. Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and his Society*, 1983; A.A.Barrett *Caligula, The Corruption of Power*, 1993 has significant sections on the assassination p.154-181.

²⁰ Jos.*Ant.* XIX.17ff.

²¹ Jos.*Ant.* XIX.17ff.; and *Ant* p.225 note b; Sen.*Ep.*4.7. For explanation of different names used by Josephus see *Ant* p223 note c; Wiseman (1991) p48.

²² Jos.*Ant.*XIX.17-21; M.Durry, *Les Cohortes Prétoriennes*, 1938, p.365-7.

²³ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.23; the conspirators recruited M. Arrecinus Clemens, the Praetorian Prefect and Papinius another Praetorian tribune – see *Ant* p235 note b, c.

²⁴ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.33-36.

²⁵ Jos.*Ant.* XIX.46ff.; by independence one assumes Josephus means democracy against autocracy.

²⁶ Jos.*Ant* XIX.62.

Praetorians under Clemens, or the Praetorians under the tribunes plus the Urban cohorts, or the military tribunes plus the Urban cohorts, becomes less attractive. The conspirators decided to assassinate Gaius in public at the *Ludi Palatini* in front of large crowds of patricians.²⁷ Josephus numbers the crowd in tens of thousands who would be jammed into a small space on the Palatine, leaving the bodyguards ὑπασπιστᾶις no chance of coming to Gaius' rescue.²⁸

The decision was taken to strike on the fourth day of the festival; on that day a mime was performed where a chieftain was captured and crucified, the play *Cinyras* was performed where the hero and his daughter Myrrha are killed in addition to these portents, P. Noricus Asprenas, the consul of AD38, was spattered by blood from the sacrifice after the initial procession.²⁹ Suetonius reports that *Cinyras* was performed when Philip of Macedon was murdered, while Josephus records that it was the same day that Philip was killed by one of his Companions as he entered the theatre.³⁰ On this occasion he did not have his bodyguard in close attendance.³¹ The Companions were Macedonian cavalry who were the friends of the king and usually formed the king's bodyguard on the battlefield. Josephus may be suggesting that Gaius' cavalry guardsmen *speculatores augusti*³² (his personal bodyguard) or the Praetorian cavalry units were absent as protection at the assassination – Josephus does not specify which section of the Praetorians were involved during the assassination account.

²⁷ Games given in honour of Augustus, inaugurated by Livia in AD14; see Suet. *Gaius* 56; Dio LVI.46.5, LIX.16.10; Tac. *Ann.* I.73; *Ant* note b p.251.

²⁸ Jos. *Ant.* XIX.75-6; ὑπασπιστᾶις may refer to the *speculatores*, as Josephus normally uses σωματοφυλάκων for bodyguard referring to the Praetorians; it may be more likely that Chaerea was concerned about the retaliation of the *Germani*, rather than fellow Praetorians; it is the former who would have had a longer distance to travel, and great difficulty making their way from the palace through the tightly packed crowd, to come to the aid of their master, see later discussion

²⁹ See *Ant.* p.259 note g, p.260 note n; Suet. *Gaius* 57; Jos. *Ant.* XIX.91.

³⁰ Jos. *Ant.* XIX.95.

³¹ A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire, The reign of Alexander the Great*, 1988 p.25-6 and n1-4 for discussion of Alexander's accession after the murder of his father. There are similarities to Claudius' position after Gaius' death in terms of a power struggle, conspiracies that had plotted to remove the king, the need for Alexander to consolidate his position. See Bosworth n3 for sources including Aristotle that imply Pausanias had not acted alone in killing Philip, and Diodorus XVI.94.2-3 who states a lone assassin. See U. Wilcken *Alexander the Great*, 1967 p.60 also argues for a conspiracy against Philip; also P. Green *Alexander of Macedon, a political biography*, 1991 p.105-110.

³² The *speculatores* would not always be on horseback, see n14 below.

Chaerea and his followers were soon in position and each man had a duty to perform. Chaerea and his group were about to re-enter the theatre when the signal was given that Gaius had risen to leave – the conspirators returned to their positions (probably their official duties) and began to thrust back the crowd behind the stage on the pretext that Gaius would be unhappy at having his way blocked. One of the normal duties of the *speculatores* was crowd control in Rome, to clear a path for the emperor,³³ so it may be that Chaerea, if he was a *speculator*, being caught out of position for the assassination was doing his “normal” job at this point so as not to draw attention to himself. If Chaerea was on duty then one would question why he would need to ask for the watchword that signalled the changeover of units. Therefore it is likely that Sabinus’ Praetorian cohort was on duty, to be relieved by Chaerea.

Claudius, Marcus Vinicianus and Valerius Asiaticus left the theatre before Gaius,³⁴ who followed with Paulus Arruntius. There is no suggestion of a significant gap between the two parties; it is possible that they formed two groups one following a few paces behind the other. There is no implication of a significant passage of time, and it is only at *Ant.*XIX.103 that the different routes are highlighted. The standard route within the palace was taken earlier by Claudius, which would only make sense if it meant ‘minutes before’; a gap of more than that becomes untenable as Claudius’ party is reported as leaving after the signal had been given for the intention of Gaius to leave the theatre.³⁵

Gaius turned down a shortcut *inside the palace*, only to be confronted by Chaerea who drew his sword and dealt Gaius a severe blow between the neck and the shoulder;³⁶ Gaius did not raise the alarm but tried to escape, only for his route to be

³³ Suet.*Galba*.XVIII.1 *ac descendum speculator impulsu turbae lancea prope vulneravit*. Also at the death of Galba where the cavalry scatter the crowds before running him down, *Ibi equites, quibus mandata caedes erat, cum per publicum dimota paganorum turba equos adegissent, viso procul eo parumper restiterunt; dein rursus incitati desertum a suis contrucidarunt* Suet.*Galba* XIX.2; Speidel (1994) p.33-7, 119-120. The *speculatores* and praetorian cavalry are different units, and it is inconclusive which would be present in Josephus’ version.

³⁴ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.102.

³⁵ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.101

³⁶ Chaerea had the sword of a cavalry soldier, the *spatha*, which is highlighted by Josephus when he approaches the Palatine.

blocked by Cornelius Sabinus – with the others present they rained blows down on the emperor who was dispatched by Aquila.³⁷ Earlier Chaerea is described as making his way to the Palatine armed with an equestrian sword, which the tribunes used when asking the emperor for the watchword. Chaerea was not stationed on the Palatine and if he was a member of the *speculatores* then his usual weapon was the *lancea*. Josephus either highlights a change of weapon from the norm, or demonstrates that the usual weapon for Chaerea was unlike the standard issue for the Praetorians.

The assassins needed to escape by a different route from the one they had come, as the passageways were blocked by Gaius' servants and by στρατιωτικός who were on duty as bodyguards, φυλακῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος for that day.³⁸ Therefore the conspirators took a different route, but Josephus said that they escaped from the mob without harm because they got out of danger before the murder had been discovered.³⁹

³⁷ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.106, 109; Suet.*Gaius* 58 describes different injuries to Gaius.

³⁸ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.116.

³⁹ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.118ff.

2.2 after the murder: a Black Rain

The immediate reaction to the death of Gaius requires careful consideration to chart the movements and reactions of all parties. This will allow for Claudius to be placed in context, when he is ‘discovered’ in the palace, and examines whether he was a target for the assassins. This section describes the events after the murder.

The *Germani* were the first to discover the murder,⁴⁰ which is reasonable as they were inside the palace. As Gaius had entered the palace compound and used a shortcut, they would probably have been looking for him to carry out their protective brief.⁴¹ Led by the Thracian gladiator Sabinus, who was a military tribune *χιλιαρχῶν* of the *corporis custodes*, the German troops spilled out of the palace with swords drawn, looking for the assassins.⁴² Sabinus was in command because of his physical strength, but probably also as a gladiator he could train the guards in hand-to-hand combat rather than leave it to their natural disposition. The *Germani* proceeded to kill the senators Asprenas, Norbanus, and Anteius; the latter did not escape the ‘vigilant search’⁴³ of the Germans nor the savagery that followed, where innocent and guilty were dispatched alike.

Josephus writes that the *Germani* had caused uproar within the palace and caused further chaos after running out of the compound, but as they discovered the murder inside they would presumably initiate their search for the culprits within. One can hardly carry out a vigilant search if the palace is omitted from the search pattern.

⁴⁰ Josephus uses the word *δορυφόροι* (bodyguards) to describe the *Germani*, *Ant.*XIX.119. *Black Rain* relates to the bombing of Hiroshima where ash carried high into the atmosphere caused rain of radioactive fallout, a cause of indiscriminate death.

⁴¹ One may question whether the *Germani* should have been with Gaius in the theatre (or more likely that they were not used on public occasions) but there is no mention of them in the theatre with Gaius or carrying out crowd-control duties. If so, why would the crowd react so badly when the Germans entered the theatre *after* the murder if they had been there earlier?

⁴² Which may be the reaction that Chaerea was concerned about at *Ant.*XIX.75-6. Presumably this occurred after a reconnaissance inside, because much more will have happened inside the palace than has been reported, summoning the guards, determining the truth of the reports. It would be of little benefit to the Germans to run riot killing senators if Gaius was still alive. Sabinus mentioned at *Ant.*XIX.122.

⁴³ *Jos.**Ant.*XIX.125-6.

Josephus reports the urgency with which Anteius needed to hide, because he had been standing over the prostrate body of Gaius; he did not escape their attentions and probably died inside the palace. It is possible that if Anteius was attracted by the desire to see the corpse of Gaius, he entered after the murder and was caught up in a sweep through the palace by a *decuria* of the *Germani*.⁴⁴ The assassins had to choose another escape route as the passageways they had gone down to find Gaius were now choked with the attendants and the soldiers στρατιωτικός, who were on duty as guards φυλακῇ for the emperor. Josephus has repeated the use of στρατιωτικός from *Ant.*XIX.116 referring to the soldiers who were looking for Gaius and ‘would not refrain from bloodshed’,⁴⁵ and the only soldiers who are looking for Gaius are reported to be the *Germani*. The passageway that was blocked to the assassins had guards in it, more likely to be *Germani* than Praetorians who would have been on duty in or around the theatre.

It is unlikely that Anteius was an assassin. The lure of finally seeing Gaius dead proved too much and this motivation would not have occurred if he had been directly involved. He was not the first to be killed by the horse guards – he was third to be slaughtered, which points to Anteius not being at the murder scene at the initial discovery because of the definite sequence of the killings. This chain of events signals the possibility of a second sweep by the Germans through the murder scene. It points to the *Germani* either looking for someone in particular, or it heralds the arrival of another unit of Germans. Asprenas met a wave of *Germani*, who cut him down on account of his clothing being blood spattered, and as the guards were looking for the murderer of Gaius this seems to have transpired both inside and outside the palace. Even if all the horse guards rushed out, killed Asprenas and Norbanus and surrounded the theatre, at least some of them would have to re-enter the palace in order for Anteius to be killed at the corpse; it is likely that given the possible numbers of between 500-1000 men, the Germans could do both tasks.

Some of the populace had no real desire for Gaius to be murdered; Josephus says they consisted of silly women, children, all the slaves and part of the army who were

⁴⁴ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.119-126.

⁴⁵ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.116. Josephus also uses the term φυλακῇ to relate to the *Germani* at XIX.157.

purely mercenaries, who were all seen as Gaius' partners in crime. By carrying out his orders they gained 'honour and profit' because the nobles were terrified of them.⁴⁶ The one group who would engender that sort of terror would be the Germans, but their remit was unlike that of the Praetorians - who had carried out some of the more unpleasant tasks on behalf of the emperor, hence Chaerea's conspiracy to put an end to this.

The ability of the *Germani* to provoke fear is ably demonstrated by the expectation of the spectators in the theatre that they would be massacred once the Germans had surrounded them. In order for them to fear the vengeance of the horse guards, the news of Gaius' death would need to reach them before the Germans did – and Josephus says that they had no knowledge of anything that had happened. Not one had the courage to leave the confines of the theatre. The word *πλῆθος* is used,⁴⁷ which may mean a multitude, or could be the 'main body', of the *Γερμανῶν* which would imply that there were more elsewhere; either it refers to those not in the passageways, but stationed in quarters in the palace, or in their barracks across the Tiber. The troops poured in to the theatre and the spectators pleaded for their lives; the Germans relented because they were persuaded that it would be unnecessarily cruel to effect a massacre; they then proceeded to fix the heads of their victims on the altar.⁴⁸ These events must take place after Claudius saw the head of Asprenas and the others being paraded, unless he could see into the theatre from his vantage point. Euarestus Arruntius announced the death of Gaius in the theatre,⁴⁹ which quashed the rumours in the crowd, and with the military tribunes, he recalled the Germans urging them to sheath their swords, while he gave an account of what happened to Gaius. This prevented further bloodshed, as if Gaius had been still alive then the Germans would have run amok in a bid to protect him – they would be willing to lay down their lives to safeguard Gaius. Now they had nothing to gain in terms of rewards, and much to lose if they made an unfavourable impression on the Senate or the next ruler.⁵⁰ The conclusion can be drawn here that, there was no news of Claudius being

⁴⁶ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.129.

⁴⁷ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.138.

⁴⁸ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.142.

⁴⁹ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.145ff.

⁵⁰ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.150-151.

discovered alive, and it may have been a realisation of the position the Germans were now in, that set a train of events in motion to find Tiberius Germanicus.

Josephus may have used a different source at XIX.153ff. as there Chaerea is worried about the fate of Vinicianus coming to grief with the Germans, enough to order the Praetorians to watch out for him. The reason for Chaerea's concern can only be that he was aware of another detachment of *Germani* at large in addition to the troops in the theatre. This 'second' detachment will become important in the discovery of Claudius.

There is the question of exactly when the heads were carried in to the theatre. If the Germans were already in the theatre, then the arrival of Anteius' head would demonstrate that those carrying it in probably knew that Gaius was dead,⁵¹ hence Arruntius was able to announce the news to the crowd with some certainty. The Germans who had surrounded the theatre would be told by their comrades and would probably follow the orders of their own *decuriones*. It is unlikely the *Germani* would take orders from a Roman at this juncture. The *Germani* were in control at this point, and would hardly stand down at the request of those they looked upon as a threat. If the Germans who rushed in already had the heads, then the group would consist of those who had slain Anteius *et al* and those who had surrounded the theatre. By referring to the heads of Anteius and Asprenas, Josephus shows that the Germans *knew* that Gaius was dead.

The crowd eventually were able to rise from their seats as the φυλακῶν guard were now relaxed, the initial crisis defused – the man credited with allowing the crowd to leave was the physician Alcyon. He had been seized and marched off to tend the wounded, who have been horse guards, as the Praetorians are conspicuous by their absence.⁵² Josephus, or his source, does not mention them in this period.

⁵¹Conversely, if the Germans had killed Anteius then they would know Gaius was already dead before entering the theatre. This may be the second detachment hinted at by Chearea or it more likely be a section from the original group that exited the palace.

⁵² Jos.*Ant.*XIX.157.

Josephus moves his focus away from the Palatine and writes that ‘meanwhile’ there were meetings in the Senate and in the Forum held to discuss who was responsible for killing Gaius, not to discuss what happened next.⁵³ This implies that the events on the Palatine were not over quickly and measured in hours not minutes. The consuls decreed that the soldiers and people were to disperse, which may mean from the Forum, and by now all the senators had arrived including those conspirators against Gaius.⁵⁴ Next Claudius was kidnapped from his house; the reason is given that the soldiers, στρατιωτικός, held a meeting and decided amongst themselves what to do next.⁵⁵ The use of στρατιωτικός is confusing; στρατιωτικός usually designates the Praetorians, and φυλαξ can be the *Germani* and σωματοφύλαξ can refer to both units. Therefore unidentified soldiers are credited with dismissing democratic Senatorial control, and any individual establishing absolute control without their assistance would not be seen to be acting in the best interests of the Praetorians.⁵⁶ The answer was to proclaim Claudius ἡγεμόν (leader) whilst Rome was in a state of flux. Claudius had more noble ancestors and he was also more knowledgeable than the current senators. Their reasoning was that they would be rewarded with the usual privileges and repaid with gifts.⁵⁷ Once they had formulated their plan it was executed and they seized Claudius, although the account does not say where this occurred. This passage could refer to either the Praetorians or the *Germani*; the Praetorians are scarcely evident on the Palatine and may have met at their camp, and the *Germani* could have conducted their discussions in or outside the theatre. The arguments used are applicable to both. Unfortunately Josephus is unspecific, and for that reason, one cannot assume that it was *only* the Praetorians who planned to kidnap Claudius.

⁵³ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.158, the passage following this may demonstrate a change of source.

⁵⁴ There is no mention of the missing senators here.

⁵⁵ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.162

⁵⁶ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.121 the *Germani* ‘were full of resentment, for they did not decide issues on their merits according to the general interest, but according to their own advantage’, trans. Feldman, so an argument can be proposed that the Germans decided what to do to protect their own future, regardless of what the Praetorians were up to, and they would have little interest in the views of the senate.

⁵⁷ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.165, Caesar instigated the pattern of keeping the *Germani* loyal with pay and promises see Speidel p.21.

Directly following, Josephus says that in the Senate Saturninus already knew that Claudius had been kidnapped; in addition Claudius had agreed to accept the position of ἀρχήν.⁵⁸ This presents a problem – although Saturninus may have been a late arrival and heard of events en route, or a message could have reached the Senate, it is unclear exactly which stage of Claudius' accession had been reached. It would be after the soldiers' deliberations and at least the initial seizure of Claudius, but the use of ἀρχήν is problematic; this may place the speech between capture and proclamation in the camp. It is feasible that news of Claudius being hailed as commander had filtered from the Palatine, or from the procession to the camp which was the most likely to have reached the Senate first as it would be physically closer, rather than only a single later report of the proceedings in the camp. In some respects this contradicts the report of the soldiers electing Claudius ἡγεμῶν before his kidnap, as he is referred to as ἀρχήν and a rival for power, which implies two different appointments. This may be due to two different sources, between lines 164-66, or simply a stylistic device to avoid repetition, but the division still remains that exists elsewhere in the sources. Saturninus' speech ended deep into the night which gives some degree of timescale.⁵⁹ At the end of Saturninus' speech, Chaerea asked for the watchword which the consuls gave as 'Liberty' – this he passed to the four cohorts who were on the side of the Senate.⁶⁰ A watchword meaning freedom may imply that Claudius was not yet emperor as the dispersing soldiers and people thought they had won independence from imperial government, or may demonstrate wishful thinking on the part of the forces ranged against Claudius.

Chaerea was determined that the whole family of Gaius should also perish, so he was alarmed at their survival; if he was worried that they posed a threat to law and order one wonders why they were not included in the initial plan.⁶¹ A relative of Clemens and a military tribune, Julius Lupus, was chosen to execute Gaius' wife Caesonia.

⁵⁸ The term ἀρχήν may translate as one of the following: first place, empire, realm, office or a command (of a body of troops), see Liddell & Scott.

⁵⁹ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.XIX.186.

⁶⁰ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.188; *Jos.Bell.Iud.*2.205 state there were three cohorts. At *Jos.Ant.*XIX.99 the death of Gaius is reported as the ninth hour (2pm), which may have a bearing on interpreting the order of events; *Suet.Gaius.*58 states the seventh hour.

⁶¹ *Suet.Gaius.*58 says that Caesonia was murdered at the same time which does not necessarily mean the same place.

Josephus says some conspirators thought this action was too cruel because she was not responsible for Gaius' actions – others claimed that she drugged Gaius to affect his mind, and that she was the cause of the misfortunes of Rome and the empire.⁶²

Certainly some discussion would have taken place about the objectives of their overall plan, but it seems strange that the fate of the person who is held liable for Gaius' wayward behaviour is being debated after all the events of such a day. If Caesonia was deemed culpable, then it is likely that her fate would have been pushed higher up the agenda and the resulting chain of events. It is possible that Josephus has separated the demise of Caesonia from that of Gaius, treating her as a separate dramatic entity; immediately after the account of her death, Josephus summarises Gaius' rule. It may be complicated by a combination of different sources creating the chronological problems.

2.2b The murder of Caesonia and the headless corpse

The fate of Gaius' wife Caesonia demonstrates the problems within different accounts and an eccentricity regarding chronology in general, surrounding the death of Gaius. Julius Lupus entered the palace and found Caesonia and her daughter by the corpse of Gaius; he killed both of them.⁶³ At *Ant.*XIX.237 Agrippa is reported as having attended the corpse of Gaius, laying it on a bier, and this was before he had heard of the kidnap of Claudius – Agrippa told the *σωματοφύλαξ* (probably the Praetorians, and not necessarily on the Palatine) that Gaius was still alive and physicians had been summoned. This would place the death of Caesonia between the murder of Gaius and the kidnap of Claudius, not after the deliberation in the Senate, unless they were much quicker than Josephus says. It also allows for a plan to murder Claudius, either parallel to or alongside Lupus' brief to murder Gaius' immediate family.

⁶² *Jos.Ant.*XIX.193 This attitude may have consequences for Claudius principate. Poisoning is a theme that will not be examined here but Callistus, a freedman, had been ordered by Gaius to poison Claudius, *Ant.*XIX.68.

⁶³ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.195.

There is also the practical difficulty of Lupus entering the palace after the *Germani* had gained control of the theatre, unless he was given his mission to run concurrently with the other assassins. He may have had to search the palace to find his target, but Josephus relates that Lupus wasted no time dispatching Caesonia so he was probably working in a hostile environment, possibly resulting from the chaos after the deaths of Asprenas, Norbanus and Anteius. Gaius' corpse was on the floor and without any funereal tribute, which points to a time before Agrippa found Gaius as it was Agrippa who made the funeral arrangements.⁶⁴

This chronology would concur with Suetonius' account, and would place both groups of assassins in the palace at approximately the same time. It is possible that Caesonia was killed before Anteius who had gone to see the body of Gaius, which would allow for Lupus to escape before the *Germani* arrived –even though no mention is made of Anteius seeing Caesonia's body. Josephus may have omitted an earlier version describing Caesonia's death with her corpse beside that of Gaius, so as not to disrupt his narrative. Or his sources treated events in such a way that made combining accounts virtually impossible. In addition Anteius could have seen Gaius laid-to-rest on the bier and not on the floor; how he knew beforehand that Gaius was dead is unclear, and could only have occurred before the Germans had started to run amok, unless he was involved in the conspiracy in some capacity. It is therefore likely that Caesonia was killed before Anteius, and this would allow Lupus the freedom of movement to escape before all hell broke loose in the palace. Anteius did not manage to escape from the search of the palace by the *Germani*,⁶⁵ and they left his headless corpse somewhere while Lupus slipped away and avoided the savage consequences. In either event there is a body still unaccounted for in the sources, whenever Caesonia or Anteius, were killed.

⁶⁴ Jos.*Ant.*XVIII.153ff., Agrippa's life and contact with his friend Gaius. Suetonius does not mention the involvement of Agrippa in the events surrounding Gaius' death and the accession of Claudius, but Dio.LX.8.2 acknowledges Agrippa's presence.

⁶⁵ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.126, 'But when the uproar began in the palace, and the need to conceal himself became urgent, he did not escape the vigilant search of the Germans nor the savage fury with which they slew both the guilty and the innocent alike,' trans. Feldman. This would tally with the sequence of events in Suetonius.

2.3 The second snapshot: Claudius exposed

There is a second, rather divergent, version recorded by Josephus in *Antiquities* regarding the fate of Claudius,⁶⁶ and this is the version that gives a name, Gratus, for the soldier that found Claudius in the palace. The meetings and debates of the Praetorians will be examined later to identify what occurred and what was under consideration in relation to Claudius. The result of the debate is reflected in an issue of coins showing Claudius and the Praetorians, which is usually explained as the *princeps*' gratitude. If the iconography is re-assessed in the light of this thesis, a new interpretation can be proposed: Claudius was staking a claim for the centre of the empire and was not a peripheral or marginalised figure who relied on the guard for his continuation in power.

In this second version, Claudius is presented as breaking away from Gaius' route; this stands in comparison to the first version where Claudius walked along the expected course and Gaius went off the usual path.⁶⁷ With the palace in chaos after the discovery of the murder, Claudius had no way of securing his own safety; he was in a narrow passage, probably to remove himself from the main thoroughfare. Josephus says Claudius was cut off,⁶⁸ probably by the movements of the horse guards as they burst out of the palace led by Sabinus. Claudius saw no cause for concern other than his status, which implies that his 'character' was not a source of worry.

There is a change of timescale of events over Josephus' initial version, because he reports the crowd were panic stricken and the στρατιωτικός (soldiers) raged throughout the palace, whilst he suggests the emperor's bodyguards the σωματοφύλακων (the Praetorians), behaved like civilians, fearful and undisciplined – this suggests considerable confusion.⁶⁹ This may also reflect some

⁶⁶ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.212-273.

⁶⁷ Compare Jos.*Ant.*XIX.212 to XIX.103-4.

⁶⁸ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.212.

⁶⁹ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.214, they discussed what course of action would be to their best advantage. One opinion may be that the ill-discipline refers squarely to the Germans but as Wiseman also notices,

bias in the source Josephus was using for this section, which portrayed the Praetorians in bad light. The angry soldiers in the palace are likely to be the *Germani*, and as not all the Praetorian cohorts would be on watch (some would be in their camp), the reported debate may have taken place there or in the Forum. The non-appearance of the remaining cohorts may have led to the accusations of fearfulness and a lack of discipline, as by rights they should have gone to the aid of the imperial family on the Palatine; those that were on the Palatine had no reason to avenge Gaius as they believed he had met his fate. The *Germani* are accused of exacting vengeance to satisfy their own savagery, acting as true barbarians would and not acting for the common good,⁷⁰ but this is a pernicious explanation for their reaction.

Claudius was alarmed by the sequence of events, especially as he had seen the heads of Asprenas, Norbanus and Anteius being carried past; there is no definite description of whether he was in proximity or viewed this from afar. Either way he was evidently concerned for his own safety.

Claudius stood in an alcove, probably above the passage,⁷¹ and the physical attributes of a recess would allow some cover and shadow. Josephus identifies Gratus as a βασιλείον τις στρατιωτῶν, and he was close enough to see Claudius' outline;⁷² it is at this stage that Josephus or his source introduces the idea of Claudius being somehow misshapen. It was only because Gratus drew near enough to Claudius that the outline became human. On seizing Claudius, Gratus says 'here is Germanicus', which is correct in terms of a formal address to Tiberius Germanicus.⁷³

Josephus uses the term σωματοφύλαξ which he uses elsewhere to refer to the Praetorians. The separation of units in the text is definite and deliberate.

⁷⁰ Jos. Ant. XIX.215.

⁷¹ It seems logical that a few steps leading to an 'alcove' would place it above the corridor; it would be strange to have a recess below 'ground level', unless it was the entrance to a doorway, but does that constitute an alcove?

⁷² Jos. Ant. XIX.217.

⁷³ See chapter 1 for the significance of the onomastic factors in this statement, which should not be translated as 'here is a Germanicus'. With the length of service for a member of the *custodes corporis* being 25 years, there is a slight possibility that some of the *Germani* served with Germanicus himself; even a new recruit enrolled with Chariovalda in AD16 would be in his final year of service in January AD41. The soldier's statement is accurate on several levels, it is Claudius, the soldier knows who he has found, implying either he is surprised to find him still alive, or that he was trying to find him, or he was not specifically looking (the Suetonius version).

Claudius, worried that he might be killed for causing the death of Gaius, asked to be spared as he had never offended the *Germani* nor planned the assassination. Claudius could *only* fear the *Germani* for being the cause of, or involved in, their master's murder. Gratus told Claudius to stop worrying about himself when he should be making plans to claim the ἡγεμονίᾱς (leadership).⁷⁴ This may imply a military connotation rather than have imperial dynastic overtones, as later Gratus urged Claudius to accept the θρόνον (throne) that he was a rightful claimant for.⁷⁵

Josephus has separated the constituent parts of the concept of *imperator*, the military from the constitutional/governmental. The emphasis of Gratus' words is on the royal aspect because he wants Claudius to accept the title of ruler, which may have echoes of the Macedonian *Companions* choosing their king. The *Germani* and the *Companions* are both cavalry units who formed the personal bodyguard of the *princeps*, in the literal sense of a 'first among equals', and the Germans were used to choosing their kings and military leaders.⁷⁶ This can be contrasted with the portents and references to the Macedonian Philip before the death of Gaius, setting up a parallel account in the sources as to the importance of the guard.

There may be a literary motif in which Gratus carries Claudius, as if in an act of acceptance by a father of a newborn infant – implying a new emperor. The allusion to a new emperor is strengthened by the Praetorians also carrying Claudius to their camp,⁷⁷ possibly in recognition of his new status. It is also the case that Josephus' account says that Claudius was initially so emotionally overcome he needed to be carried, then dragged, and then was finally unable to proceed any further due to his physical weakness⁷⁸ – which suggests he was subject to muscle fatigue to some degree. He had enough strength to reach the bulk of the congregated troops now

⁷⁴ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.219.

⁷⁵ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.219.

⁷⁶ See Tac.*Ger.*7, 'They choose their kings for their noble birth, their leaders for their valour', trans Mattingly. The difference between *reges*, and *duces* will be discussed later in the chapter, but family and friendship is the greatest motivator for German bravery; the king would lead in war if not ill or infirm, and the dux was needed when several tribes came together; elected leaders were Ariovistus, Arminius, Civilis and Brinno, (Tacitus, *De origine et situ Germanorum*, ed. J. G. C. Anderson, 1938, p.68). The Macedonian Companions were nobility, and not paid recruits.

⁷⁷ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.226.

⁷⁸ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.220-1.

gathered on the Palatine forum, but could go no further, hence the use of the litter. There is a degree of handicap; he is not unable to walk, just unable to walk any significant distance. It should be noted that Josephus gives two specific and distinct reasons for being unable to walk far - emotional/psychological and physical fatigue.⁷⁹

As Josephus had spent time in Rome and was a friend of Poppea Sabina,⁸⁰ it is possible he not only saw the *Germani* who protected Nero but also heard anecdotal accounts of the accession of Claudius, which could include at least a credible account of Gratus' words to Claudius. Although it is unlikely, Gratus may even have still been serving with the *custodes corporis* when Josephus resided in Rome. Whether Gratus was a real or fictional character will be discussed later. Josephus also served under Vespasian⁸¹ and was a friend of Titus who was educated on the Palatine with Britannicus during the reign of Claudius. Among the extant sources (and possibly many of the earlier sources) Josephus had unparalleled access to people who had a direct relationship with Claudius; Suetonius only had access to the official records in the imperial library and earlier written accounts, while Dio Cassius had neither. It is possible that the account in *Antiquities* reflects the unofficial version of the accession, while Suetonius gives the officially sanctioned version of events; hence the discrepancies regarding who found Claudius. One point where personal observation may play a small part is in the highlighting of the sword carried by Chaerea as tribune of the guard to the Palatine. Josephus says it was the sword of a cavalryman, which was the *spatha*, much longer than the standard issue *gladius*. Josephus writes that it was used in the ritual of receiving the watchword from the emperor. The *Germani* would normally be armed with the Mainz-type sword, a

⁷⁹ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.220.

⁸⁰ Rajak (1983) p.43 cites Jos.*Ant.*20.195; *Vita*.16.

⁸¹ Josephus' prophecy that Vespasian was to be the future emperor, occurred at a meeting two years before it was accomplished (Jos.*Bell.Iud.*3.397, 501). One wonders if there are faint echoes here of Gratus meeting with Claudius, a soldier meeting the man who would rule the empire, although Josephus foretells of Vespasian's future power while Gratus encourages Claudius to take power. See Tac.*Hist.*I.10, II.4, 78. Suet.*Vesp.*4, 5; Suet.*Titus.*5; Dio.66.1.

Josephus is present in Alexandria when Vespasian hears of the news that Vitellius is dead and he is now emperor; Tiberius Alexander had already secured the oath of allegiance of the troops (and the population) before Vespasian arrived; but it seems likely that the new emperor would also have received the salutation in person, which would give Josephus first hand knowledge of what actually happens at this type of event. Jos.*Bell.Iud.*IV.616-21, 656ff; Tac.*Hist.*II.85.

longer more tapered native version of the *gladius*, and the *deciuriones* would probably be furnished with the *spatha*.⁸²

More of the σωματοφύλαξ gathered around Gratus and they were uneasy about Claudius seemingly being taken away for punishment.⁸³ It might be possible that the Praetorians were gathering and watching the *Germani* removing Claudius, because in the upheaval only the Germans were the ones administering any form of punishment or ‘justice’. This was confused by the arrival of more soldiers, στρατιωτικός, and their arrival dispersed the crowd; the latter might well be more *Germani* whose very presence would frighten any civilians around the palace or those decanted from the theatre, especially as all would be aware of the killings. The scene might have been played out beyond the palace which would allow for the movements of the separate groups involved. It was as Gratus’ group reached an extensive clearing that a larger band of soldiers proclaimed Claudius αὐτοκράτορ, apparently because of the memory of Germanicus’ and his enduring popularity, twenty-one years after his death.⁸⁴ In contrast, the bodyguard who were spectators on Claudius’ removal from the palace had wanted the case for Claudius to be put before the consuls.⁸⁵ There are questions about the reasons there are so many different groups present.

One should consider that Gratus knew whom he had found, and whether he had been sent there or had arranged to be there. These factors could be explained through the unseen influence of Clemens, the Praetorian Prefect, or that Gratus had planned to meet his master – it really depends how much one believes Claudius was involved in a conspiracy, or at least had been informed that were moves afoot to significantly alter things. There is no evidence of Clemens’ or Claudius’ active involvement. Clemens had been told by Chaerea of the plan and had advised the tribune to keep the matter to a trusted few to allow success. Clemens himself said ‘as for me, I’m too

⁸² Spiedel (1994), p104ff. If Chaerea was a member of the praetorian horseguard then it would be a means of signifying that fact, but it seems more likely that as tribune he had the *spatha* to mark that he would receive the watchword.

⁸³ Jos.Ant.XIX.221.

⁸⁴ Jos.Ant.XIX.223; in effect Claudius is being proclaimed to hold the full powers of state.

⁸⁵ Jos.Ant.XIX.221.

old for this kind of venture',⁸⁶ and he went home to think carefully about what he had heard.⁸⁷ He did nothing to prevent the plan being executed, but he may have short-circuited it by issuing a warning⁸⁸ either to Claudius or by arranging for Claudius' own personal *Germani* to pick him up once the signal had been given for the assassins to move. The use of the *Germani* that guarded Gaius would be impossible gauging by their reaction.

It is likely that the soldiers at the Treasury were Praetorians, different from the soldiers who frightened away the crowd (Josephus refers earlier to *Germani* as troops/soldiers), but the Praetorians had already convened a meeting during the *Germani* going berserk and Josephus gives similar reasons for their decision to choose Claudius, avoiding senatorial or dictatorial control of Rome. This is different reasoning to that of Gratus, and a different decision-making process that has another chronology. The chronology is a problem here in clearly identifying groups of Praetorians, but those in XIX.213 would be the same as those originally in XIX.221.

It seems very unlikely the Praetorians would have two meetings, and in both go through exactly the same deliberations and reach exactly the same conclusions. It is possible that Josephus is using different sources one presenting a proactive and the other a reactive situation.⁸⁹ The former is the least tenable because the Praetorians would have to circumvent the Germans and try to place a second praetorian presence in the palace in direct opposition to their protective duties – anyone entering the palace at that point would be risking certain death. It is also less plausible because the names of any tribunes or speakers are not recorded at the alleged Praetorian meeting, whilst the names of most of the main conspirators, the victims of the *Germani*, and the man who found Claudius are all recorded. It is strange that such an important decision, to kidnap Claudius was reached without any real commentary.

⁸⁶ Jos.Ant.XIX.45. There is no inconsistency with XIX.19 as Wiseman (1991) p.52 claims, as it refers to the conspiracy under Regulus, a hot-head who is not bothered about secrecy. Clemens warns that if too many people know, secrecy would be compromised and the plot would fail, he does not say that all plots will fail.

⁸⁷ Jos.Ant.XIX.46.

⁸⁸ Jos.Ant.XIX.47, where Chaerea was worried that the plans might be passed on by Clemens to unspecified others..

⁸⁹ Wiseman (1991) p.xiii has the section XIX.212-236 as from source other than Cluvius Rufus in the second version of the accession.

There is no suggestion that it was a small group of Praetorians who decided to seize Claudius at the Treasury; Josephus implies that a certain number had been there whilst the *Germani* indulged in their ‘thirst for vengeance’.⁹⁰ The Praetorians held an animated discussion, presumably while they held up the group with Claudius, the reports of the views of the Praetorians were collected and a decision was reached – the Praetorians turned around and took Claudius to their camp.⁹¹ The two groups were therefore facing each other, and the Praetorians had been heading towards the Palatine or the palace, which suggests that the bulk of them had not been there earlier.

*Ant.*XIX.221 relates to the immediate period after Gratus carried the physically weak Claudius, when the σωματοφύλαξ gather – Josephus uses πλείους which could mean ‘several’ or ‘more of’ the arriving group were present i.e. more of the troops already there which would be Gratus’ *decuria*. If Josephus was using a Latin source at this point, then *plures* would give the meaning of ‘several’.⁹² The interpretation is therefore not that ‘more of’ the bodyguard already there had arrived, rather a *different* military unit appeared especially as Josephus has normally used σωματοφύλαξ to signify the Praetorians. On the subject of different terms used for bodyguards, referring to the *Germani* and the Praetorians and possibly the *speculatores*, the number of different sources used by Josephus, Suetonius and Dio, not all of which would be consistent with each other regarding technicalities, only exacerbates an already confusing scene.⁹³

Taking both viewpoints, from the *Germani* or the Praetorians’ position, Claudius is the most suitable and eminent candidate to accede to the principate, which points to his mental and physical attributes and characteristics being acceptable.⁹⁴ Even in

⁹⁰ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.162, 166, and the later 214.

⁹¹ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.226.

⁹² Wiseman p.xiv and n24 where Josephus has stuck closely to his Latin sources, probably either Cluvius Rufus, Fabius Rusticus or Pliny the Elder for this section, where ‘even traces of their Latin may sometimes be detected in his Greek’. Josephus *Ant.*XIX.15 states that he ‘intends to give an exact account’ of the death of Gaius. This may point to the reason for using certain terms.

⁹³ Wiseman (1991) p.xii-xv

⁹⁴ See Appendix 2.1 for the accession of Philip Arrhidaeus and Quintus Curtius Rufus. There are similarities in terms of the mechanics of accession of Philip that should be taken into account in any further research on Claudius. The lack of space prevents any analysis here.

such an extreme and volatile situation, there is no obvious suggestion that Claudius' candidature was seen as 'any port in a storm', especially as Chaerea would later attempt to order Claudius' execution.⁹⁵ More importantly the troops were overjoyed at seeing Claudius, most likely because he was alive, protected and in their presence. This is a shift of emphasis from their concern about his fate when being led from the palace. The Roman citizens were also happy with the course of events, which would avert a civil war, and again the belief may have been that Claudius' presence was capable of disengaging the opposing factions.

It seems as though Claudius was trusted enough by the people and the Praetorians to gain their support, which is at variance with the representation of a reclusive anti-social misfit, let alone one of a deformed and slow-witted pathetic soul, so often represented in the sources.⁹⁶ The disparity of views was reinforced by the stance of the Senate, which wanted to remind Claudius of the damage done to the state by tyranny, and the dangers he and others had faced under Gaius. The argument was that he should submit to their greater number— as though in a democracy.⁹⁷ Also as Claudius hated tyranny he should avert a civil war;⁹⁸ if his former good conduct in avoiding trouble continued he would be rewarded with honours, and if he obeyed the law either as a citizen or ruler he would be praised. Within this message (conveyed by the envoys of the Senate), are signs that the Senate knew enough about Claudius to know his views on tyranny, also the dangers he had been subjected to were similar to those faced by others around Gaius, and that he was able to steer a path away from these dangers. There is also an acceptance that Claudius was certainly capable of carrying out the office of princeps as the Senate said as much in their message. It may also be significant that the senators view Claudius as something of an equal if they wanted him to submit on account of their numbers, not their elevated status, although bargaining with anyone backed by the power of the praetorians would

⁹⁵ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.257-9, Chaerea orders the urban cohorts to carry out the deed, but he is substantially rebuffed when the soldiers decide to leave and join Claudius, leaving the Senate exposed and fatally weakened.

⁹⁶ See Appendix 2.1 for reaction of Macedonian nobles to accession Philip Arrhidaeus, and a brief discussion of the version in Q. Curtius Rufus. E.Baynham *Alexander the Great, The unique history of Quintus Curtius*, 2004, p.210-15, see p.205ff. for the latest analysis and bibliography on of the dedicatory panegyric in Curtius' *Historiae* and the identification of the *princeps* as Claudius or Vespasian, and also Appendix 2.1.

⁹⁷ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.229-3.

⁹⁸ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.230.

require a degree of tact. After sending the envoys back to the Senate, having promised fair and equitable leadership, Claudius addressed the soldiers and bound them to him by an oath of loyalty; he gave the Praetorians, σωματοφύλαξ 5000 *denarii* each and promised a similar amount for the legions.⁹⁹

The Consuls convened the Senate in the temple of Jupiter Victor during the night, and only one hundred senators assembled there to debate the offer from Claudius – the soldiers present called on them to choose an αὐτοκράτορ instead of many rulers in a democracy. The senate had agreed in principle to a sole ruler, but one that must be worthy, in their opinion, of such a position. However they no longer had a free choice, and they were afraid of Claudius' position strengthening as time passed.¹⁰⁰ The rival claimants for power were restrained from causing a massacre in Rome by confronting Claudius: Marcus Vinicius was obstructed from proceeding by the consuls, and Valerius Asiaticus was restrained by Vinicianus. Claudius' support was gaining strength by the hour as gladiators, *vigiles* and naval oarsmen arrived at the camp. The following morning Chaerea addressed the στρατιωτικός,¹⁰¹ and he failed to gain their support as they did not want him to speak – they were set on a single ruler, and set on that being Claudius. The soldiers drew their swords, probably to demonstrate that they were not to be stopped and abandoned Chaerea to join Claudius' ranks.¹⁰²

There is a shift of emphasis when Claudius prevents the troops executing the consul Quintus Pomponius: he is now proactive and has authority. Other senators were manhandled by the soldiers and prevented from seeing Claudius; in this case neither the *Germani* nor the praetorians would be averse to 'crowd control' measures. Agrippa urged Claudius to be more lenient in his approach which resulted in the Senate being ordered to the Palatine; Claudius was carried through Rome escorted by soldiers (it seems unlikely that in this instance the *Germani* would have been left behind), who cleared a path through the crowd – the harshness of the treatment

⁹⁹ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.247.

¹⁰⁰ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.248-50.

¹⁰¹ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.254, and it is this juncture that Chaerea calls for Claudius' head, but the soldiers basically ignore him and leave to join the swelling ranks gathering around Claudius.

¹⁰² Jos.*Ant.*XIX.259.

meted out to the crowd suggests the *speculatores* were being used in their normal guise of a public escort for a Roman emperor, unless of course Claudius unleashed the *Germani* to emphasise his new elevated status.

On the Palatine, Claudius arranged a vote amongst his companions, ἑταίρους on the fate of Chaerea,¹⁰³ which resulted in the execution of Chaerea and Julius Lupus.¹⁰⁴ Cornelius Sabinus committed suicide shortly after being released by Claudius. Some days later Claudius removed the unreliable and untrustworthy units from the army,¹⁰⁵ probably referring to any praetorian cohorts involved in the conspiracy, or those which had shown signs of insurrection or splintering off during any of the debates on the succession.

By this stage Claudius was functioning as *princeps*; he had a pretty seamless introduction to power after the murder of Gaius and it was the conspirators and the Senate who were continually on the back-foot. Maybe the Praetorians were lucky here, because their luck eventually ran out as ‘kingmakers’ when they came unstuck backing Otho in AD68, or else they had championed the only credible candidate to follow Gaius as *princeps*. If so, then Claudius’ physical disabilities and mental weakness were not enough of a handicap to put off either the *Germani* or the Praetorians.¹⁰⁶ Claudius had a significant enough position to bargain with the Senate, and they on their part recognised that they needed to do a deal with him if they wanted to avoid serious bloodshed in Rome. There was no reference or inference at

¹⁰³ This may be another reference or allusion to the influential cavalry bodyguard at the side of a King of the Macedonians. Which could mean that Claudius in fact asked the Germans what would be a just punishment for the main protagonists who had murdered their previous master; the inference is more likely to be a reward rather than any inference of equality, but may reflect part of a source bias regarding the influence of women and freedmen on Claudius.

¹⁰⁴ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.268-71.

¹⁰⁵ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.274.

¹⁰⁶ See Suet.*Claud.*; Sen.*Apoc.*; Dio LX. Claudius’ handicap will be discussed later, and any exaggeration in the sources will also be examined. A. Major, ‘Was he pushed or did he leap? - Claudius’ ascent to power’, 1992 p.25-31 claims modern scholars have basically refuted the sources picture of a ‘physical and mental incompetent’ and intends to sweep up what remains of the misconceptions about Claudius (p.25). Major asserts that the discovery scene reinforces the stereotypical picture of Claudius in the sources, and came from an unfavourable tradition; the proposal is that Claudius was somehow involved or knew about the plot against Gaius. The notion of feigning stupidity was raised as the mechanism by which Claudius survived to be *princeps* (p.26), all as part of a coup where the guard had committed to Claudius in advance. Overall Major claims that Claudius was ‘willing, able and prepared for the principate’ (p.30).

this juncture of any deficiencies in Claudius’ character, intellect or physiology in what was an *absolute* and *key* moment in the future of the principate and in the future of Rome itself. All the parties involved were bargaining for their very existence; it does not come more serious than that.

2.4. “The Praetorian Coins”

The orthodox reading of the series of coins produced in AD41 by Claudius, showing Claudius and a Praetorian shaking hands with PRAETOR RECEPT on the reverse, is that the issue primarily demonstrates the *princeps*’ indebtedness to the Praetorians.¹⁰⁷ The issue has a companion issue of the Praetorian camp with the legend IMPER RECEPT.¹⁰⁸ The coins were issued as part of a series of gold (*aureus*) and silver (*denarius*) coinage in AD41-2, that also included coins with reverse images of *Constantiae Augusti*, *Paci Augustae* and *De Germanis*.

AD41-2	<i>Imper Recept</i> RIC 7, 8 BMC 5	<i>Praetor Recept</i> RIC 11, 12 BMC 8, 9
AD43-4	RIC 19, 20 BMC 20, 21	RIC 23, 24 BMC 22 --
AD44-4	RIC 25, 26 BMC 23, 24	RIC 29 BMC 28
AD46-7	RIC 36, 37 BMC 37, 38	No Issue

Fig.2.1 Issues of coins depicting Claudius’ relationship with the Praetorian Guard, by year, and *praetor* or *imper recept*.

There was no similar lower denomination *aes* issue, but there were coins that referred to military glory showing the triumphal arch with the legend *De Germanis*

¹⁰⁷ C.H.V.Sutherland, *Roman Imperial Coinage* vol 1², 1984 (*RIC I*²) p117-8,121-132; *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy 31BC-AD68*, 1951, p.126-7; donative and debt Scramuzza (1940) p.60-63; Momigliano p.20-22 gives a valuable insight on the two sides, the Praetorians on one hand unwilling to wait for the senate, and Claudius unwilling ‘to figure as a revolutionary who owed his position to Praetorian arms’, hence the execution of Chaerea; the version in Levick (1990) p39 where ‘he owed his accession to the Praetorians and – reluctant as he has been to accept!- he did not have to hide it. Claudius debt to the Praetorian Guard was advertised on gold and silver coinage dated 41-2’. See fig.7 *Aureus RIC* Claudius no. 11.

¹⁰⁸ Sutherland (1987) p76-7 has a discussion of the possible expansion of the legends.

and connected to Claudius' father Nero Drusus. Sutherland states the coins refer to Germanicus' military victories, but that is not necessarily the case, as the reward for the victories in Germany was the award of the *agnomen* Germanicus to Drusus. This would connect Drusus, Germanicus and Claudius, all of whom took the name as the senior family member as discussed in chapter 1. If one follows the orthodox interpretation of the accession stories then the issue in AD41-2 can only refer to Germanicus – is Claudius really trying to make a weak position weaker? Alternatively using the *agnomen* could point to the legitimate claim to the name, the ancestry, not just glorifying his father and brother, but also celebrating Claudius in terms of his achievement and his *auctoritas* as well as setting him apart from the *Julii* that had gone before. He is Tiberius Claudius Germanicus. The *Constantia* coins have two meanings, a civil message probably related to Claudius' health and as a personal quality which on some issues carried a military significance. Also the *Libertas Augusta* issue points to more freedom after Gaius' reign, and the SC with Minerva 'aptly symbolizes the rule of Claudius the soldier-scholar'.¹⁰⁹ Levick comments on the *De Germanis* issue making a direct reference to Drusus, produced with a laureate head NERO CLAUDIVS DRVSVS GERMANICVS IMP. on the obverse and with a triumphal arch on the reverse.¹¹⁰ The point is made that Claudius had a distorted view of the facts hence the constant reinforcement of military glory.¹¹¹ Levick also connects *Constantia* and the *OB Cives* issues along with the Praetorian coins to the accession, the "admission" to the camp and link to the Praetorians, standing up to those that opposed him and his self-control.¹¹² The accession had been a serious defeat for the Senate who were effectively sidelined by events, and their hopes for the republic became a distant dream. It was in this climate that 'Claudius went out of his way to make men forget the events of those days, which might easily have ended in his own death or in the massacre of the Senate'.¹¹³

The image of Claudius in the centre of the scene acting as barrier to any threat coupled with issue of *Pax*, meant Claudius was very aware that things had to settle down -there was a need to restore order and restore confidence. This idea of stability shown on the coins concurs with Levick's idea of coins being produced by a mint

¹⁰⁹ Sutherland (1984) P.119.

¹¹⁰ *RIC* I² 68, 70 gives DE GERM and *RIC* I² 71, 72 shows DE GERMANIS issued AD41-5.

¹¹¹ Levick (1982) p.111.

¹¹² Levick (1982) p.110; see *RIC* I² p.118 for the *aes* 'accession' *sestertii*.

¹¹³ Levick (1982) p.110; Suet.*Claud.* XI.2

looking back to past glories, but I would strongly argue that the Praetorian coin especially, is a statement about stability in the present and in the future, and it tells the audience how things will be.

Hekster proposes that coins were produced for different audiences by using diverse messages between the denominations, and he challenges the stance that coins were not propaganda.¹¹⁴ In figs.2.2-3 the right hand figure is usually interpreted as a soldier, a Praetorian *signifer*. The discussion in Sutherland tries to make sense of the legends in terms of mutual loyalty, noting that 'a handshake between emperor and soldier would be a normal gesture of mutually expressed *fides*'.¹¹⁵

Images on the reverse of imperial coins have been closely analysed by scholars, and can be broken down into five basic types, personifications; gods or goddesses; scenes or objects; the emperor and/or the imperial family; and provinces, cities and rivers.¹¹⁶ The Praetorian coins seem to convey a scene that includes the emperor, which means it may cross boundaries between Noreña's categories, and this may be important in demonstrating the uniqueness of the image. A coin could be an official document that presented an authoritative expression of the emperor and his regime, or it reflected the influence of the officer in the mint who could depict a *princeps* as he

¹¹⁴ Olivier Hekster, 'Coins and Messages. Audience Targeting on Coins of Different Denominations?' (2003) p. 21; Levick argues against using the term "propaganda" as it is too specific, and wants to use "publicity" instead. There is also the point raised that interpretation of Roman coins has been influenced by contemporary events - from the 1950s Sutherland saw them as "organs of information" and Grant believed they carried every nuance and policy decision direct into all the homes of the empire. This was challenged in the latter 20th century by scholars like Wallace-Hadrill, but Levick (1982) p.106 states that "propaganda" cannot be used because it implies some sort of system and persistence that cannot be applied to Roman coinage because the issues were too few and far between. There is also the difficulty that the term is too hostile and emotive to be used easily without prejudice while "publicity" implies coins were merely passing on information of merits or achievements (Levick 1982 p.106).

¹¹⁵ Sutherland (1987) p77. , and C.L.Clay proposes it represents a female personification of *Fides Praetorianorum* which is a suitable vehicle for the concept of corporate *fides*, but it is unnecessary if the *signifer* carried the standard which represents the Praetorians.

¹¹⁶ C.F. Noreña, 'The communication of the emperor's virtues' (2001) p.153-4; personifications are human figures that represent an abstract ideas such as *virtus* (see p.153 n39). Virtues are moral qualities that are inherent within men, and the belief was that virtues secured the position of emperor by justifying power 'representing in him as in possession of qualities regarded by his subjects as a necessary qualification for his position' (A.Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Emperor and His Virtues' (1981) p.317), and he goes on to explain how the Greek ideas of duties of a man brought pressure on the *princeps* from the senate i.e. to conform to set behaviour, and citing these four virtues *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia* and *pietas* (see Noreña (2001) p.152; Wallace-Hadrill (1981) p.314ff.).

wished to see himself or aspects of his reign - 'taken as a whole, the coinage of a reign can be seen to make a composite portrait of the ruler as he liked to think of himself, intended not as publicity but for internal, domestic, Palace consumption'. Levick's view is that neither the mint officials nor a *princeps* were promoting a policy of showing Claudius' better side or his government in a good light - the argument is the mint showed the emperor a representation of himself using the most effective images or symbols to that end.¹¹⁷

Noreña's model is trying to quantify how a message could change over time, and he examines *liberalitas*, 'which began as a personal virtue with a strong moral dimension, was reduced in the official pronouncements of the Antonines to a sort of administrative shorthand for cash handouts'.¹¹⁸ This is not to say that Claudius was promoting a similar moral dimension in the Praetorian coins, and Noreña's model demonstrates how a message can be shown to have changed over time.¹¹⁹ For the 'Praetorian coins' there are subtle changes evident in terms of Claudius. In the later issue the *princeps*' size was slightly increased and the position of the Praetorian was pushed towards the edge of the picture – the soldier is marginalized and Claudius is positioned in effect more centrally. There is another theory of different messages – the more valuable issues were, by their nature of being higher value, restricted to the upper echelons of society.

Hekster uses the idea of coins having a memorialising function for a personification or a virtue, while the lower denomination *aes*, intended for the Italians or lower strata of society, would have a scene that re-enacts an event.¹²⁰ The latter group may still see high value coinage therefore Hekster argues there is a primary and secondary target audience.¹²¹ Following this concept, the *Imper* and *Praetor Recept* coins are

¹¹⁷ Levick 'Propaganda and Imperial Coinage', (1982) p.108

¹¹⁸ Noreña (2001) p.164.

¹¹⁹ There is no attempt here to match the analysis of Noreña, there is not enough data, so the study involves a more subjective study; see figs. 2.2-3

¹²⁰ Hekster (2003) p.22-3.

¹²¹ Hekster (2003) p.23; and attempts to set out a model using modern parallels of branding and advertising in terms of how the advertisers target different groups in different ways, p.24-6.

only gold and silver issues and not the lower value *aes* that carried messages such as *Constantiae Augusti*, *Liberatas Augusta*, a *sestertii* that tied a portrait of Claudius to the accession with *Ex SC Ob Cives Servatos*, *Ceres Augusta*, these appeared with or without PP (*Pater Patriae*) (Of note are the accession commemorative coins for Drusus and Germanicus, Antonia, Agrippina the Elder, issued between AD50-54).¹²²

These are reasonably complex messages and were not exactly messages that would be picked up by illiterates, but for the higher value coins the *Imper* and *Praetor Recept* were issued in AD44 and next in AD46-7 where the *Praetor Recept* has disappeared and *De Britann* along with SPQR PP OBCS and the re-appearance of the generic *De Germanis*.¹²³ The question is why has the message changed or rather disappeared? A coin that scholars focus in on as being indicative of Claudius' weak position has dropped off the radar by AD47. Why are the Praetorians not being recognised – are they less of a threat to Claudius' position, or has he grown into the job and has less need to overtly advertise their support?

Sutherland's view has been influential and emphasised Claudius' debt to the Praetorians for elevating him to the principate, and that these issues were also to remind the public of the Praetorians' protection.¹²⁴ The claim is, that the coins show the Praetorian camp and the mutual greeting that happened after Claudius was taken there. However, the accession issue was bolstered by the *Ex SC Ob Cives Servatos* issue with a *corona civica* which set out the formal relationship between Claudius as *princeps* and the Senate, where the corona 'symbolized senatorial acquiescence and imperial deference'.¹²⁵ The result, therefore, seems that in AD41-2 especially, Claudius' relationship with the Senate and the Praetorians, and his position within the empire has been clearly stated for all sections of society.¹²⁶

¹²² RIC I² p.119; Levick (1982) p.110-111.

¹²³ RIC I² 30-41; Hekster (2003) p.29ff. for discussion of audience targeting.

¹²⁴ Sutherland (1951) p.126-7.

¹²⁵ Sutherland (1951) p.126, also found on the *aes* coins.

¹²⁶ See Sutherland (1951) p.127ff. and (1976) p.114 for an exposition on *Pax*, *Victoria*, *Felicitia*, *Salus* and *Pudor* connected to *Constantia*. See p.114-7 for the versatile pattern of coins choices, and the clear division between civil and military symbols used, where the images for the *aes* are more



Fig.2.2 (left) Claudius and a Praetorian guard, *Denarius* AD41-2 Rome.¹²⁷

Fig.2.3 (right) Claudius and a Praetorian guard, *Aureus* AD44-5 Rome.¹²⁸

However, scholarship on the subject of the Praetorian coin has followed a conservative path, and even considering the discussion above about mixed messages. What I advocate in this section is that the real significance of this issue is the specific message embedded in the iconography – the *princeps* and Praetorian are on the same level, on the one ground line, and both figures are basically the same height and scale. This is unlike the iconography used before or after Claudius, where emperors are usually depicted up on a *rostra* or *dais*, or are the largest figure in a group facing out in a frontal position. The third key point is that Claudius is facing *into* the scene,

mint records survive, therefore estimates and extrapolations are necessary to produce a range of figures for coin production (Howgego p.2-3), and see Noreña (2001) p.148 n10 for a bibliography.

¹²⁷ RIC P² p.122, Claudius no.12. Obv: TI.CLAVD.CAESAR.AVG.P.M.TR.P. - Laureate head right. Rev: PRAETOR.RECEPT - Claudius standing right on left, shaking hands with soldier to right, holding shield and *aquila* C.H.V.Sutherland, *Roman History and Coinage 44BC-AD69*, 1987, p74-77 and figs.30a-b.

¹²⁸ RIC Claudius no.29, *BMCRE* I.28. Obv: TI.CLAVD.CAESAR.AVG.P.M.TR.P.III - Laureate head right. Rev: PRAETOR.RECEPT - Claudius standing right on left, shaking hands with soldier to right, holding shield and *aquila*. Image from

<http://www.dirtyoldcoins.com/chitlins/id/clau/clau016.jpg> 23/12/04.

out in a frontal position. The third key point is that Claudius is facing *into* the scene, and away from the viewer.¹²⁹ A final point is that the portrait of the early issue is a variation on a portrait of Gaius, while the later issue is a portrait of Claudius.¹³⁰

This is a major departure in iconography where the *princeps* is not facing the viewer. Claudius has set up an image where he is at the epicentre of the new principate; he is between the viewer and the Praetorians, and all are on the same ground line – Claudius is stating he will be a true *princeps*, a ‘first among equals’ at the centre of the Empire. This represents mutual loyalty but also some reassurance for the populace that Claudius will stand between them and the Praetorians and the armed forces. The fact that Claudius is facing inwards means he is facing the same way as the viewer, in an act of ‘virtual’ solidarity both are facing the soldier. It is striking that Claudius is not standing alongside the soldiers, he is not in a group shot, and there is a message there for the troops in Rome that in the coin Claudius has the support of the people and the Senate behind him, or that he can ‘represent’ the people in this particular equation. Even considering later conspiracies, Claudius can still issue an image claiming support of the people if not all the senators. If this is not the case Claudius would have produced a standard image of an *adlocutio*, or a sacrifice scene like Gaius or Nero had, which would have carried a different message, but the same old tune. Fig.2.2 shows an early issue because of the barely modified head of Gaius to depict Claudius on the obverse, while the later *aureus* (fig.2.3) has a more standard portrayal of Claudius – note how in a subtle shift in the message the representation of the emperor has been modified in the later image to appear the larger or dominant figure, and the Praetorian figure has been shifted right, allowing the princeps to be placed more towards the centre of the image. The groundline is also squeezed to the bottom of the coin, taking on a curvature to allow it to be as low as possible while still being present. This is a subtle shift of emphasis but one which would probably not go unnoticed.

¹²⁹ The different heights of the respective figures represented here are balanced by another issue in AD41-2 where both are exactly the same height. The issue where Claudius is tallest is the latest one.

¹³⁰ Usually the images deteriorate as time passes or as the master engraver passes the work on to artisans that are lesser lights, but in this case the initial portrait is a modified version of the previous *princeps*, where Claudius’ portraits are normally ‘intensely personal, unromantic to a degree, and an essay in realism’, Sutherland & Carson in *RIC I*² p.16.

Therefore the conclusion can be drawn that the coins issued by Claudius in AD41 do not promote the image of a constitutionally or physically weak *princeps*. The coins are a very clear unambiguous statement that after his accession Claudius is not compromised and not marginalized – the ‘Praetorian coins’ demonstrate that he is in complete control and at the centre of government.

2.5 The *Germani* and the Julio-Claudians

A brief history of how the *Batavi* came to be the personal bodyguard of the Julio-Claudian emperors will help to put in context their fierce loyalty to the *princeps*, a fidelity amply demonstrated by the reaction of the *Germani* after the assassination of Gaius. There is a short evaluation of how Rome sees German national characteristics, and how they functioned as a para-military group in service of the emperor and their use alongside the army. The loyalty of the Germans to the Julio-Claudians is important in the understanding of how they came to protect Gaius and Claudius. The horse guards were first used by Julius Caesar at Noviodunum in Gaul 52BC, and they were probably staffed by *Ubii*, one of the Germanic tribes who were uncommonly skilled horsemen.¹³¹ Caesar took his Germanic horsemen to Spain in 49BC and Africa in 46BC. Speidel states that ‘influence, money and promises’ *auctoritate*,

¹³¹ M.P. Speidel, *Riding for Caesar: The Roman Emperor's Horse Guards* 1994 p.12 note 1; For detailed discussion on the Roman, Celtic and German cavalry at the time of Julius Caesar, see Harmand *L'Armée* 1967 p.81-88, also fig. 6 p.81 for a carved relief of Spanish horseman; for cavalry equipment p.88 note 232. Also p.196 note 374 explains that Caesar left the Gallic auxiliaries and the Germans' native weapons and tactics well alone. For Roman cavalry see p.46-54, for cavalry logistics see p.192-8, for *praefectus equitum* see p.359-61. Although Caesar and Tacitus undoubtedly portrayed the Germans in national stereotypes, the observations that Caesar's remarks about the Gauls were judged against his own background in Rome, and 'he had none of the objectivity in his observations that we would expect of a modern anthropologist' (P.S. Wells, *The barbarians speak*, 1999 p.103) seem to misunderstand why the Gallic War especially, was written. As Wells (p.103-4) explains, the image of these barbarians was compiled from personal experience, historical tradition in Rome, and the migrations of the *Cimbri* in the second century BC, which followed the sack of Rome by the Gauls in 387BC. The fear of the barbarians from the North was real; Wells proposes that the onset of military, political and trading activity allowed the Romans to develop a model of the European interior, where the Southern cultivated zone was inhabited by the Gauls, and the Northern forested regions across the Rhine (Wells p.104). Caesar mistakenly applied the Gallic characteristics to the *Germani* residing on the western banks of the Rhine.

pretio et pollicitationibus,¹³² were the lures Caesar used when he recruited the horse guard; they became an important feature as the principate was established.¹³³ In 44BC Caesar dismissed his Spanish guardsmen who had served alongside the *Batavi*,¹³⁴ and made the latter his sole bodyguard – later to be named by Augustus as the *Germani corporis custodes*.¹³⁵

The *Germani* sided with Octavian and Antony at Philippi, and a force probably of *Batavi* and *Ubii* went with Octavian to Sicily in 36BC. But the horse guards were dismissed in AD9 after the Varian disaster, probably because of their proximity to Augustus, which may not have been advisable if their tribal bonds had tested their loyalty to the princeps at that precise moment.¹³⁶ Tiberius had first hand experience of their company on his dash to reach Drusus in Germany 9BC – the final leg of the twenty-four hour journey was the sprint from Mainz, alone with Namantabagius,¹³⁷ which would cement a bond of trust and loyalty; Tiberius was consul, stepson of the *princeps*, therefore not to be left to face danger alone. Subsequently Tiberius recalled the horse guards to Rome in AD14, and sent *Germani* with Drusus Caesar to quell the Pannonian legions¹³⁸ and Germanicus used them in Germany in AD16;¹³⁹ the difference between the *corporis custodes* and the Praetorian horsemen was the Germans' greater physical size and strength plus, crucially, their greater equestrian skill.

The *Batavi*, led by Chariovalda, fought with Germanicus' troops against the *Cherusci*. Tacitus describes Germanicus sending his cavalry across the River Weser,

¹³² Speidel(1994) p.14.

¹³³ Speidel(1994) p.14.

¹³⁴ *Batavi*: alternative name used for Augustus' horse guards/bodyguards. See Spiedel (1994) p.15-6, and note 7 for Dio LV.24.6.

¹³⁵ Also see Appendix 2.2 for a comparison between the *Germani* and the Praetorian guard. The *Batavi* were once a tribe of the *Chatti*, and Tacitus mentions the tribes of the *Mattiaci*, Tac.Ger.29.1, and adds that the *Chatti* are infantry-based and well-equipped, '*alios ad proelium ire videns, Chattos ad bellum*'. Tac.Ger.30.3. The *Frisii* are divided into two tribes '*maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est es modo virium*', Tac.Ger.34.1. The Suebi are divided into many tribes, the *Semnones*, *Langobardi*, *Hermunduri*, *Naristi*, *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Marsigni*, *Cotini*, *Osi*, *Buri* etc, Tac.Ger.38.1ff. See CIL 8805 for a *decuria* named *Cotini*. The *Ubii* are mentioned in Tac.Ger.28.5, and see CIL 8809.

¹³⁶ Speidel (1994) p.18 note 10.

¹³⁷ See Speidel (1994) p.18 note 11; identified as horse guard.

¹³⁸ Tac.*Ann.* 1.24.

¹³⁹ Speidel (1994) note 15 for discussion of Germanicus' horse guards.

and it was the *Batavi* who were involved in the fiercest battle with the *Cherusci*, Chariovalda was killed, but the action allowed Germanicus' legions to cross without loss.¹⁴⁰

One estimate for the size of the horse guard under Gaius was around one thousand strong; their commander Sabinus in AD41 is referred to as a *χιλιαρχῆς*, a term used for commander of a thousand men.¹⁴¹ Gaius increased the scope of recruitment to include slaves and gladiators to serve as commanders, including the Thracian Helicon who was a commander of the bodyguard on the palace staff, an *αρξισοματοπηγλαχ*.¹⁴² Sabinus, like Helicon, was a gladiator and was in charge of the *Germani* during Gaius' assassination, and led his troops out of the palace to run amok on the Palatine,¹⁴³ 'thus they fulfilled their sworn duty: to prevent, or else to avenge, the murder of the emperor. Neither their oath nor their own sense of duty left them a choice'.¹⁴⁴

The *Germani* were showered with riches and gifts under Gaius, which would be continued under Claudius and Nero. Their wealth is reflected by their monumental headstones in Rome, similar in style and size to those of the Praetorians.¹⁴⁵ On these

¹⁴⁰ Tac.*Ann.* II.6. ff.; Germanicus offered a prayer to his father Drusus on entering the Drusian Fosse (see p394 note 3) asking for inspiration from the memory of his *wisdom* and *prowess* for a son who had followed in his footsteps. Germanicus is presented as the opposite to the portrayal of Claudius in the sources; see Sen.*Apoc.* 1 for Homeric reference to 'footsteps', i.e. Germanicus is everything Claudius is not.

¹⁴¹ Speidel (1994) p.21 for estimate of numbers, and Jos.*Ant.* XIX.122.

¹⁴² Suet.*Gaius* LV; also see Speidel (1994) n18 for discussion of Helicon.

¹⁴³ Suet.*Gaius* LVIII; Jos.*Ant.* XIX.1.15.

¹⁴⁴ Speidel (1994) p.24; Caesar.*Afr.* 40 demonstrates the honour and ferocity of the Germans, who had joined Labienus' forces (under Scipio) with the Gauls because of the promise of reward, or his authority, or Caesar had previously taken them as prisoners. The 1,600 men (*Afr.* 19) showed unswerving gratitude and loyalty to Labienus and stood their ground, fighting to the last man against Caesar's legions even though 8,000 Numidian cavalry and every one else had fled. Speidel (1994) p.13-15 explains that Labienus' cavalry had originally enlisted with Caesar, and neither they nor Caesar's *Germani* could betray their oath and loyalty to their commander – so they faced each other on the battlefield. There can be little doubt, that if necessary, these tribesmen would fight and kill a significant number of the Praetorians on the Palatine in AD41. Earlier 30 Gallic cavalry had routed 2000 Maurorum cavalry and, disregarding problems with numbers, the direct implication is that it was an extraordinary feat, *accidit res incredibilis*, Caesar. *Afr.* 6.

¹⁴⁵ For cemetery see Speidel (1994) p.88, and for gravestones see p.16 *passim*; T.Derks 'Beelden en zelfbeelden van Bataven', 2004 gravestones of Batavi in figs.3.15-16, and appendix tables A-E, and discussed p57-66; During the revolt of the Pannonian legions in AD14, Gaius and Agrippina had been held hostage, and it is likely that Gaius would not have forgotten the loyalty of the *Germani* to his father.

graves, the names demonstrate the occupant's non-Roman origins. Speidel notes Gamus is a Greek name, probably signifying a slave, whilst Hospes is a Latin name so he would probably be a freedman; many are titled as members of *corporis custodes* or *Caesaris Augusti corporis custodes*, and as a group they became known as *Germani* which in time meant 'bodyguard'.¹⁴⁶

A *decurio* led a unit of the horse guards (a *decuria*), which consisted of thirty troops; a senior *decurio* would lead the *Germani*. ILS 1723 records Proculus as a *decurio Germanorum*, and he may have been assigned with his *decuria* to Ti. Germanicus whilst he was serving as consul in AD37;¹⁴⁷ Claudius would require protection, especially when he undertook the journeys to Germany to see Gaius, or discharged his duties in Rome during the *princeps*' absence. Germanicus had used private guards and Nero rostered some to Agrippina,¹⁴⁸ so it is not unlikely that Claudius would have private horseguards after AD37 especially. Their main duty was to safeguard the emperor's life on the Palatine, in Rome, or on campaign. They provided the watches in the palace as they also served on foot; the penalty for leaving a post was death. An additional use was to keep the provincial legions in check by their very presence around the emperor.¹⁴⁹

There were additional horse guards to the *Germani*; the *Speculatores Augusti*, who were incorporated into the Praetorians encamped in Rome (after AD23). These were elite horsemen who formed a bodyguard used to protect the emperor in Rome itself but not within the palace; this was a Roman not a foreign unit.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Speidel (1994) p.25-6, 40-44, 86-7 and n23. The recruits took single names, Gaius appointed slaves and gladiators to command the guard, and Speidel p.25 suggest that by the Greek names slaves were recruited, although these names were also passed on to their children p.40.

¹⁴⁷ *Proculus decurio Germanorum Ti. Germanicus*, ILS 1723; it is unlikely that the senior *decurio* would be assigned to Claudius before he was *princeps*, but it may show that Proculus was a personal bodyguard of Claudius occupying a similar position to Namantabagius with Tiberius.

¹⁴⁸ Speidel (1994) p.131. Tac.*Ann.*13.18.3 shows that the protection of the *Germani* was at the discretion of the emperor.

¹⁴⁹ Speidel (1994) p.20 and see n12, refers to Pannonian revolt where Drusus took Praetorian cohorts and most of the *Germani* and Praetorian horse, and used them to suppress the rebellious legions – Tac.*Ann.*1.24.

¹⁵⁰ Speidel (1994) p.33ff. Note the Praetorian horsemen were attached to infantry *centuriae*, and had duties similar to the *corporis custodes*, see p.129ff. The *Speculatores* guard duties see Durry p108ff; Frank p.26-7; J.C.N.Coulston 'Armed and belted men: the soldiery in imperial Rome', 2000 p78, 81.

The Gratus on the Palatine is not the earliest appearance of the name;¹⁵¹ there is a Gratus mentioned at Sebaste in AD4.¹⁵² Josephus does not identify Gratus military status in the palace as he does for the commander of the Sebasteneian infantry, and that may be because the Samaritans were more within his practical knowledge than the *Germani*. It does at least demonstrate the usage of the name amongst auxiliary and non-Roman forces alongside the Roman legions in Judaea. This does not make the identity of Gratus in the palace definite, but at the very least Josephus applied a non-Roman name to the chain of events, unlike Suetonius who blurs the identity to the degree of making the soldier a *miles*. If Claudius was discovered by a non-Roman, one attached to a barbarian guard, it would amount to a peregrine influencing who was to succeed Gaius. If it was reported as the Praetorians, it might be slightly more palatable for the Roman citizen. The negative image of such a discovery reflected directly on the emperor *in situ* when Suetonius or Dio were writing. The desire of an emperor to have claimed hereditary links with previous regimes would unfortunately have meant they might owe their position to the barbarians, so a different account may have been more circumspect.¹⁵³ For this reason it is likely that Gratus was not a fictional character, and his identity is only partially camouflaged in the extant accounts.

The loyalty of the *Germani* was found wanting when they did eventually desert Nero, but after the Praetorians had gone, and only under duress, leaving their commander with Nero.¹⁵⁴ An example of their fierce nature is demonstrated by the eight cohorts of Batavian auxiliaries that were attached to *legio XIV*, and withdrew from the legion during the upheavals in the revolt against Nero in AD68. Vitellius did not want to alienate them by punishing their actions (after he was hailed emperor following the revolt of the legion in Upper and Lower Germany), because they would have an enormous impact on events either as allies or as opponents.¹⁵⁵ After

¹⁵¹ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.217-221 also see *PIR* 223; see Coulston p.79, also fig. 5.15 for gravestone of Gratus, a 3 year old child of a centurion of the marine *classis praetorian* at *Misenensis*. For *classes* see Durry p.168, also the rowers alongside gladiators as supporters of Claudius in *Ant.*XIX.253

¹⁵² Jos.*Ant.*XVII.226,275,276,283-4,294; *Bell.Ios.*52,58-9,63,74.

¹⁵³ See *PIR* for use of *nomen* Claudius, and especially the *agnomen* Germanicus by certain successive emperors after Claudius: Nero, Nerva, Trajan.

¹⁵⁴ Suet.*Nero*.XLVII.3, see discussion later in 2.4b.

¹⁵⁵ Tac.*Hist.*I.59.

the death of Galba and the accession of Otho, the Batavians from *legio XIV* became involved in a quarrel then a fight with legionaries – this nearly broke out into an open battle but Fabius Valens managed to quell the disturbance¹⁵⁶; the Germans were not averse to fighting their corner, and it was Galba who dismissed the *Germani* from his bodyguard, questioning their loyalty. These *Batavi* were now attached to Valens' forces, who were aligned to Vitellius who also had German auxiliaries.¹⁵⁷ Tacitus gives the reason for the quarrel as after the *Batavi* joined Valens' forces they had goaded the Roman soldiers with their boasts of how it was the *Batavi* who had taken Italy from Nero, 'and that in their hands lay the whole fortunes of this war'.¹⁵⁸

Tacitus may be reporting or alluding to an idea of the Germans as being 'kingmakers' in this scenario, and it may reflect a belief that the Germans held themselves (which may be due to previous actions). Valens separated the mutinous auxiliaries to prevent carnage as the *Batavi* would prove too strong even as a single unit for his legions. It was Valens' legions who would complain about the loss of the German auxiliaries, the 'bravest troops', and that 'to defend Italy the strongest limbs must not be torn from the army'.¹⁵⁹ The result was a mutiny where Valens was attacked by his own troops, but events had turned on the removal of the *Batavi* and Valens trying to enforce his decision.¹⁶⁰

Reckless gambling was a characteristic of the Germans who were willing to stake all on a final throw of the dice, even risking their liberty.¹⁶¹ This may have marked some common ground between the *corporis custodes* and such serious gamblers as Augustus and Claudius. That they would always pay their debts, even if it meant passing into slavery,¹⁶² shows a remarkable sense of honour. These factors of intense loyalty, the sense of honour, a reckless streak and a ferocious fighting ability may explain why the Germans would try to protect, and avenge their charges. When the *Germani* erupted from the palace driven by these factors after Gaius' murder, for the men involved it was a case of all or nothing; these factors will be taken into

¹⁵⁶ Tac.*Hist.*I.59.

¹⁵⁷ Tac.*Hist.*I.64.

¹⁵⁸ Tac.*Hist.*II.27.

¹⁵⁹ Tac.*Hist.*II.28.

¹⁶⁰ Tac.*Hist.*II.29; Valens did not punish his troops for their insurrection as 'he was well aware that in civil wars the soldiers have more liberty than the leaders'.

¹⁶¹ Tac.*Ger.*24.3.

¹⁶² Tac.*Ger.*24.4.

consideration when discussing Claudius and the *Germani* in the last section of the chapter.

2.5b Nomenclature: the identification of the *Germani*

The names recorded on the gravestones of the *Germani* in Rome are in some cases, powerful evidence of their links to Claudius. The established view is that Ti. Claudius in a name given to a freedman or an award of citizenship refers to Nero – but I will show that it denotes an award bestowed under the reign of Claudius, which is important when attempting to understand the nature of these relationships. Further points demonstrating that Spiculus, one of the tribunes of the *Batavi*, was a non-Roman and the use of citizenship as a reward for service to the emperor and to the state will also be discussed. The question is raised whether any such rewards are for actions in the accession.

Many horseguards could be discharged at the end of service and would probably return home to Germany, therefore no trace would remain in records as they were an unofficial force in Rome. The dismissal of the *Germani* by Galba removes them in entirety from Rome in AD68 – the veterans at that date would have enrolled in AD43/4; the first recruits under Nero would have had a maximum of 12 years service, and would not be eligible for discharge.

Any *Germani* killed on the Palatine in AD41 are not recorded on the gravestones in the cemetery of the *Germani* in Rome even though they died in Rome itself, so they were likely to be buried in smaller unmarked graves unless they were returned home for a native funeral. It may be possible that Ti. Claudius Chloreus was given, or took, the name of the emperor he was serving at the time; he died in the reign of Nero. He was Batavian and he would have been recruited, so he was neither a slave nor a freedman, which could explain why *divi Claudii L* is not on the tombstone.

Ti. Claudius Diadumenus is found on the headstone of CIL 8803 and also from the *decuria* Spiculus, and is an heir along with the *collegio Germanorum*.¹⁶³ The horseguards were instrumental in putting down the Pisonian conspiracy in AD65, and it is proposed that Nero rewarded them with citizenship.¹⁶⁴ The theory proposed by Speidel is based on CIL 8803 in which the two cavalrymen recorded carry the *praenomen* and *nomen* Tiberius Claudius. The inscription follows a pattern borne out by other headstones of the *Germani* that record the unit enrolled in;¹⁶⁵ here Chloreus is from the *decuria* of Spiculus.¹⁶⁶

An alternative theory is that Claudius rewarded the *Germani* who found and rescued him on the Palatine, with money and promises; the favour being one of citizenship in the future. Length of service may not have been an issue if they were allowed to leave early as part of the reward, which would partially explain the scarcity of horseguards named Ti. Claudius. CIL 8811 records Ti. Claudius Ductus,¹⁶⁷ a freedman of Claudius who was a *decurio* of the *Germani* similar to Proculus in ILS 1723. There is no record in CIL of Ti. Claudius Spiculus, whom Speidel draws a parallel to the Ti Claudius Chloreus in Nero's horseguards in gaining citizenship from the emperor Nero.¹⁶⁸

If Nero did not reward the German horseguards before AD65 and the Pisonian conspiracy, this would fit with the epigraphic record where Bassus, Hilarus, Nobilis and Phoebus are examples of single-named members of the *corporis custodes*.¹⁶⁹ Taking the example of Chloreus, who lived to the age of forty, he would have a maximum service of 22 years; his possible dates of service could run from AD33-55 or AD46-68 at the limits, and any dates in between, ending in the reign of Nero. Even at the most extreme, he could have guarded Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius and

¹⁶³ See Speidel (1994) note 28 for Spiculus.

¹⁶⁴ Speidel (1994) note 27; p.28-9.

¹⁶⁵ See ILS 1730.

¹⁶⁶ Alternatively of the *Spiculi*, but there is no record of any regional or tribal names although amongst the other names recorded as *dec.* are Montani, Synerotis, Gnostus, Pacati, Rabuti Epagati see CIL 8802-12.

¹⁶⁷ TI. CLAVDIO AVG.LIB. DVCTO DEC GERMANORUM VIX.ANN.XXX.POSVIT.LVRIA PAESZVSA.CONIVGL.SVO.ET.SIBI. CIL 8811.

¹⁶⁸ Speidel (1994) p29 and CIL 8803.

¹⁶⁹ CIL 4342, 43433, 8806, and 8808 respectively.

Nero; or he could have been involved in the aftermath of the death of Gaius, protected three emperors and been involved in the suppressing of the Pisonian conspiracy. There is only one who was Tiberius Claudius as *princeps*. It does not seem logical that Nero could (or would for that matter) give the names of the dead emperor to the horseguards, without recognising the fact that his predecessor was technically at that stage *divus* Claudius. In addition it is beyond comprehension that Nero could convince anyone that the names Ti. Claudius did not refer to Claudius but to himself. Unless it was a significant move to distance Nero from rewarding barbarians with citizenship by using Claudius' name. In either case it can hardly be viewed as a *reward* from Nero when it would be a subterfuge, and a fraud dressed up to look like a posthumous gift from Claudius.¹⁷⁰

It is necessary to analyse the debate over the names Ti. Claudius being used by Nero in order to understand the nature of the relationship between Claudius and the *Batavi*. The evidence for Nero being named Ti. Claudius Nero Caesar Germanicus is very thin indeed. A Pompeian inscription and a reference by Zonaras may be the same piece of evidence occurring in different media.¹⁷¹ Tacitus says Nero was the *nomen* given, which does not fit with the onomastic practices of the *Claudii*. Claudius issued coins on which Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus as *princeps iuventutis* is recorded; on L. Domitius Ahenobarbus' adoption by Claudius, the *princeps* would probably want to reinforce the credentials of both in the eyes of Rome and his new wife Agrippina. Using Nero Claudius Drusus would recall Claudius' father and brother Germanicus (who was also the father of Agrippina), and Tiberius' son Drusus Caesar. This choice would secure the name not only across three generations, but in dynastic terms as well. There was already a precedent as Germanicus gave the names Gaius Julius Caesar to two of his sons; therefore Claudius could well have called two of his sons Nero Claudius Drusus without undue worry. The addition of the *agnomen* Germanicus and the title Caesar would mark Nero out as an heir along with Claudius' surviving son Ti. Claudius Britannicus.¹⁷² If Nero was named Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Caesar Germanicus then that makes little sense; it

¹⁷⁰ An example of a freedman of Claudius would be Ti. Claudius Tauriscus Topiarus vix ann LXV *CIL* 4630; A slave, Faustus Pistor Ti. Germanici. Ser. Philo. et. Menophilus coservi. merenti f *CIL* 4356, refers to Claudius before he was *princeps*.

¹⁷¹ *ILS* 224; Smallwood no.103; Dio LX.33.2 (Zonaras XI.10).

¹⁷² Originally Ti. Claudius Caesar Germanicus and, after the conquest of Britain in AD43, he was renamed Ti. Claudius Caesar Britannicus.

becomes difficult to sustain the choice of Nero Claudius Drusus Caesar from this combination because the name one has to drop is the *praenomen* - according to the theory of Speidel, a name that Nero gave to new Roman citizens/freedmen. Therefore, it is very unlikely that any of the *Germani* with the *praenomen* Tiberius were rewarded in the reign of Nero.¹⁷³

There is a Spiculus mentioned by Suetonius, a gladiator who is given property and residences along with the actor Menacrates, the equal to that given to those who celebrated a triumph.¹⁷⁴ In AD68 after the revolts of Vindex and then Galba against his rule, when Nero finally realised that he was cornered and his time was over, he vainly called for Spiculus to dispatch him after the *custodes* have left him alone in the palace, rather than face suicide alone.¹⁷⁵ Plutarch says Spiculus the gladiator was killed by a mob in the Forum, crushed under a statue of Nero.¹⁷⁶ Dio writes that the Senate persuaded the Praetorians στρατόπεδος to desert and join them against Nero, and differentiates them from the palace guard βασιλέως φρουράς;¹⁷⁷ it was the σωματοφυλάκων, the king's guard, who killed 'Skipoulos' (Σκιπουλῶη) the prefect of the camp. Which camp is unclear, and it may be the camp of the Praetorians or the *Germani*,¹⁷⁸ and the result of the bodyguards' actions are found in Galba's reaction in Suetonius:

*Item Germanorum cohortem a Caesaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutem multis que experimentis fideelissimam dissolvit ac sine commodo ullo semisit in patriam, quasi Cn. Dolabellae, iuxta cuius hortis tendebat, proniorem.*¹⁷⁹

'He also disbanded a cohort of Germans, whom the previous Caesars had made their bodyguard and had found absolutely faithful in many emergencies, and

¹⁷³ An example of a *Batavi* from the reign of Nero is *ILS* 1729, Alcimachus | Neronis. Claud. | Caesar. Aug. Ger. | corpor. cust. | dec. Albani, | nat. Bataus, | vix. Ann. XXXV | h.s.e. Posuit | Batavus dec. Montani | her. Eius ex. Coll. Ger.

¹⁷⁴ Suet.Nero.XXX.2.

¹⁷⁵ Suet.Nero.XLVII.3.

¹⁷⁶ Plut.Galba.VIII.5.

¹⁷⁷ Dio.63.27.2b Johann.Antioch, see Millar (1999) p.2-3 for reliability of the epitome as a source. 'Praetorians (δορυφόρους) and the other troops (βασιλέως φρουροῦσι) that guard the royal court', does not necessarily include the Germans. The Praetorians are δορυφόροι at Dio 64.3.1 (Xiph.)

¹⁷⁸ See Speidel (1994) p.169 n28-9 for discussion of the *Germani* being cashiered after death of Nero. It is the Praetorians who fail to save or despatch Nero in AD68, described as both soldiers, and the σωματοφυλάκων who deserted the *princeps* to join the senate, Dio.LXIII.27.3. Joann.Antioch. For location of *Germani* camp across the Tiber, see Coulston (2000) p.85 and fig 5.1.

¹⁷⁹ Suet.Galba.XII.2, trans.Rolfe.

sent them back to their native country without any rewards, alleging that they were more favourably inclined towards Gnaeus Dolabella, near whose gardens they had their camp’.

Spiculus the gladiator may well have trained the *Germani* in some aspects of combat, though they did not use the *gladius* but the *spatha*, and would be taught very little if anything new about how to handle their own sword. The inscription for Chloreus includes the letters dec. Spiculi, which may point to the name of the *decuria* being the name of the man who commanded it. Speidel gets round the problem of status where a slave commands a Roman citizen by making Spiculus a citizen, but no source refers to Spiculus as Ti. Claudius Spiculus. If Nero did reward the horseguards with citizenship, then Spiculus was not amongst them; if Spiculus was the prefect of the *Germani* in AD68, then he was promoted within three years from a minor office and carried no reward for duties performed in suppressing the conspiracy. A solution may be that there were more than one, a gladiator and a barbarian, which would allow for the clash of names and which would be avoided within the *Germani*. Gallic tribal chiefs received citizenship under Caesar, as there is additional evidence amongst Roman auxiliary forces¹⁸⁰ (which would account for Chloreus on one hand), but as he is in a *decuria* which carries a different name to his he cannot have commanded it. The only other answer is that some *Germani* gained citizenship as a reward for service, which would allow them to remain within their units – it was not in recognition of their native status. A further answer, moving closer to the eccentric, is that the reward for service, which resulted in Chloreus attaining a higher status than his *decurio*, was the equivalent of a Military Cross to his superior’s Campaign Medal. Speidel cites Chloreus and Diadumenus as probable recipients of citizenship from Nero,¹⁸¹ but in addition to any involvement in the accession of Claudius; Dio states that foreigners could buy citizenship or apply

¹⁸⁰ See Speidel (1994) p.12-15.

¹⁸¹ Speidel (1994) p.87; Roman military tombstones; Vonatrix from the Longiniana cavalry *ala* (Anderson (1938) pl.14, p.53) is typical of cavalry *stelae* produced in Bonn and is dated mid 1st century. Longinus Sdapeze (RIB 201), a *duplicarius* of the *ala primum Tracum*, (Anderson (1938) pl.15, p.54). Sextus Valerius Genialis tombstone in Cirencester, he is a Frisian serving in the *turma* of Genialis, again a Thracian *ala*, and dated to the Nero’s reign (Anderson (1938) pl.16, p.55). The tombstone of Dannicus (RIB 108) demonstrates an epigraphic similarity to those of the *Germani* in Rome, *Dannicus eq(u)es alae |Indian(ae) tur(ma) Albani| stip(endiorum) XVI cives Raur(icus) | cur(averunt) Fulvius Natalis it | Fl[av]ius Bitucus ex testame(nte) | h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*, Cirencester, (Anderson pl.18 p.56). *Tib. Claud. Tirintius eq(ues) coh(ortis) [...] Thracum an[n] orum LVII sti[p]endior(um) XX [...] h.s.[e]*, Wroxeter, (RIB 291; Anderson (1938) pl.23 p.60) was a member of a Thracian *cohors equitata* not an *ala*, and he died age 57 having served over twenty years.

directly to Claudius. Eventually it became easy to obtain citizenship and greatly increased numbers brought the problem of new citizens not adopting the name of Ti. Claudius - enough for Claudius to forbid attempts to prosecute the miscreants.¹⁸² Even though Dio is portraying the corruption within the 'government' and the impotence of Claudius' control over his freedmen and over Messalina, the franchise was available at a price. An inscription regarding a curator of the *Germani* demonstrates what may be a useful model for freedmen in the horseguards:

*Ti. Claudius divi Claudii lib. Actius, | honoratus, curator Germanorum, | et aedituus Dianae Cornif., collegio magno | trib divae Augustae rtriclum cum columnis | et mensis et maceria s.p.d.d.*¹⁸³

In this case Actius was already a freedman of Claudius when the emperor was deified after death, and had been the *curator* (commander) of the *Germani* fixing Actius' passing at the earliest in the reign of Nero. Here is an example of a freedman taking the emperor's name and stating that Claudius freed him. As the senior officer of the horseguards, Actius would be a slave or a gladiator hence his designation as freedman. A similar format is seen in the tombstone of a *decurio*, Ductus, who lived to thirty and was freed and died whilst the emperor was still alive, placing his recruitment date at the earliest AD29 up to AD42.¹⁸⁴

Ti. Claudio | Aug. lib. Ducto | dec. Germanorum, | vix. An. XXX, posuit Luria | Paezusa coniugi suo et sibi

The inscription from Pompeii, which is cited as evidence of Nero taking the *princeps' praenomen* and *nomen*, is a solitary example.¹⁸⁵

T. Claudio, | T. Claudii Caesaris | Augusti Germanici | p.p.f., Neroni | Caesari | d.d.

If this inscription is correct then there would be three men named Ti. Claudius within the one family; this does not fit with Claudian precedent where, for at least the past

¹⁸² Dio.LX.17.5.7.

¹⁸³ ILS 1732; CIL 4305.

¹⁸⁴ ILS 1731, CIL 8811; Examining inscriptions of the *Germani* under Nero, single names remain the most prevalent. The most common type is, for example, *X Neronis Claud. Caesaris Aug corp. cust. dec Y nat Z*. See ILS 1728-9, where *X*, *Y* and *Z* are the example names.

¹⁸⁵ ILS 224; Smallwood no.103.

two generations, the two sons were given different names.¹⁸⁶ The only additional evidence cited is a lead *tessera* with *Ti.Cl.Ne* scratched on it, and the excerpt from Dio's epitomator Zonaras, neither of which is convincing when laid beside the weight of evidence regarding Claudius' use of the names.¹⁸⁷ In addition, there is claim that there were many Greeks in Achaëa who on becoming *cives Romani* bore the Claudian *nomen*, but some are still incorrectly attributed to the reign of Nero.¹⁸⁸

A *lex curiata* was required for Nero's adoption because he was classified as *sui iuris*,¹⁸⁹ as his father was deceased. A child would take his adoptive father's name

¹⁸⁶ See stemma; the inscription *Celadus Ti. Claudii Caesaris fser | vix annXXV | carus suis*, (Gordon 87) may demonstrate a potential problem. Gordon p88-9 rightly identifies this as referring to the young Britannicus, but whether this unofficial inscription is technically accurate is debatable because of the ambiguity contained within it. *Ti. Claudii Caesaris* may refer to Claudius, the son therefore being Britannicus; but it could also be referring to the son of Britannicus, which in reality is not possible. Another version, although very unlikely, could be that Celadus was the servant of *Ti. Claudii* i.e. Britannicus, the son of Caesar. The problem is that *Ti. Claudius Caesar* can apply both to Claudius and to Britannicus without the additional *cognomen/agnomen* of Germanicus/Augustus or Britannicus to differentiate them. This shows the problems that would entail if Nero was also Tiberius Claudius. D. B. Saddington, *The development of the Roman auxiliary forces from Caesar to Vespasian*: 49 B.C.-A.D. 79, 1982 p.67 also argues that inscriptions bearing *Ti. Claudius* probably fall into the timeframe of the principates of Claudius or Nero, which works in terms of recording the name of the beneficiary, but that does not necessarily cover the same dates as to when the name was granted. The *OCD* also states that Domitius was adopted as 'Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar or, as he is sometimes called, Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus', which is a contradiction.

¹⁸⁷ *PIR* II. 129 Nero, *PIR* III. 820 Britannicus, 942 Claudius; For the alternative proposal for the name of Nero on adoption, see Zonaras XI.10, see Dio LX.33.2² and p.18 n2 which states Claudius adopted Nero and gave him the name Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus Caesar; *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane* vol II.1 p.290 says Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus; *Paulys Suppl* vol III p354 says *Ti. Claudius Nero* on adoption, citing the *tessera* (*Klio* Beih. III.29), the inscription Dessau 224 = *CIL* X 932, and Zonaras XI.10; *Tomus Latinitatis onomasticon* vol II p.324 refers to the inscription *Henzen supp Or.* n.5405, and says originally *Ti. Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus Caesar* – he suppressed the *Tiberius* and replaced it with *Nero*, which is possible except for the problem of Nero changing the name bestowed upon him on adoption by the emperor in AD50; he assumed the *toga virilis* and was promoted as *princeps iuventutis* the following year, see Smallwood no.104a. The alteration may have been to avoid unnecessary confusion, but that would have been apparent from the outset. Two examples demonstrate this:

obv. *Ti. Claud. Caesar Brit. D(ecreto) D(ecurionem) C(olonia) H(ipponis)*
rev. *Nero Cla. Caes...Drusus Germanic.*
(A copper coin from Hippo Diarrhytus AD51-4, Smallwood 105a)

[*Ti.*] *Claudio C[aesari] Neroni[s] Claudi] Caesari[s] fratri Bri]tannic[o]*
(Smallwood no.109; *CIL* VI.922)

¹⁸⁸ W.S. Walton 'Oriental Senators in the service of Rome: A study of Imperial Policy down to the death of Marcus Aurelius', 1929 p.42, who gives the reason, 'Nero was also *Ti. Claudius* in law, and his beneficiaries would take his name'; A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 1973 p.246 note 2, and discussed above.

¹⁸⁹ As L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Nero was *sui iuris* he would be subject to *adrogatio* (see *Dig.* 1.7.1); *adoptio* was used for males who were *alieni iuris* in the late Republic (see Watson p.40 note 3). An

adding a *cognomen* derived from, or the same as, his original family.¹⁹⁰ An example is L. Aemilianus Paullus, adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, who became P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus. A youthful Tiberius had been adopted in the will of Marcus Gallius, where the boy accepted the inheritance but gave up the name. This is ‘not wholly destitute of legal support and, in any case, acts either of Octavian or of others of the imperial family are scarcely to be trusted as indications of general law’.¹⁹¹

In Nero’s case, therefore, he could legitimately have taken the name Ti. Claudius Caesar Domitianus; the orthodox proposal of Ti. Claudius Nero Caesar would not fit this model. On adoption, Tiberius did not take Augustus’ full name, nor did Germanicus take Tiberius’ full name,¹⁹² so there was a precedent for not following the accepted practice. In addition the *Neronēs* did not follow the orthodox *tria nomina* system as demonstrated by the Flavians; neither name suggested by the orthodox view for Nero is practical, more especially because Claudius had dropped the *cognomen* Nero by the time he was *princeps*. It does not seem logical for the adoption process to reverse back in time to name an adopted son; if Claudius had reverted to tradition, then Nero could have been given Claudius’ name at birth, Ti. Claudius Drusus. If one follows the Neronian practice of sons having different *praenomina*, then the *praenomen* has to be changed to give Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, because one cannot exclude Ti. Claudius Caesar Britannicus from the equation. The reality of the situation is that if Nero were given his father’s name then he would be Ti. Claudius Caesar Germanicus which would be impossible to tell apart from the *princeps* except from the missing ‘Augustus’. Claudius was not addressed as Augustus, and he had been known as Ti. Germanicus;¹⁹³ Tiberius Caesar was

adrogatio was designed specifically for situations where a Roman family and name faced extinction. It required the *pontifex maximus* (a function discharged by Claudius) to put the case before the *comitia calata* and the *rogatio* would be passed as a legislative act (Watson p.41); by the later Empire the emperor’s authority alone was legally sufficient (see *Dig.* 1.7.2). Claudius is credited with a slight change to the adoption system (*Dig.* 1.7.8).

¹⁹⁰ For adoption of Agrippa and Tiberius see *Suet. Aug.* 65. For adoption in general see *Cic. Att.* ii.7.2; *de Pro. Cons.* 19.45; *Dom.* 15.39; *Pro Sest.* 7.16; *Tac. Hist.* i.15.

¹⁹¹ W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek & Roman Antiquities*³, 1890, p28; *Suet. Tib.* VI.3.

¹⁹² Imp. Augustus Caesar adopted Tiberius Claudius Nero as Tiberius Iulius Caesar, and Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus became Germanicus Iulius Caesar.

¹⁹³ The onomastic practices of the time lead to some confusion, and regarding Ti. Germanicus, he is not known as Claudius pre AD41. Many footnotes refer to Ti. Germanicus as ‘Claudius before he was emperor’, which is invariably accurate, but it should be made clear that: Ti. Germanicus is not Claudius, but Claudius is Ti. Germanicus, which is a difficult statement but one technically more reliable. The problems arise because the later diacritic in the sources has been reversed into the periods before his accession, when it should really progress in the other direction. Although it is a

Tiberius, so there was no option left for Nero. The problem is solved if he is Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus which allows for Nero Caesar.

Even if Nero's use of Ti. Claudius could be technically correct, it would always be associated with Claudius as the *praenomen* and *nomen* are used on virtually every coin and official inscription produced during AD41-54, and always referring to the *princeps*. Having been bombarded with Ti. Claudius Caesar as a brand name for over twelve years, the Roman citizens would take some convincing that the use of the names did *not* refer to Claudius. In the case of the *Germani* the names would then declare that 'Nero gave me this reward', which seems enigmatic at best. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that a name of a freedman or a new citizen containing the *preanomen* and *nomen* combination Tiberius Claudius, relates to Claudius and not Nero.

2.5c Rewards for the great and the good: Citizenship and Adoption

This section will offer a brief survey of the technicalities of adoption and gaining citizenship, with particular attention being paid to the foreign troops for whom citizenship represented a serious reward. My intention is to see if Claudius or Nero could have granted citizenship to favoured parties or individuals as a prize. In the speech of AD48 recorded on the Lyon tablet, Claudius specifies that the only necessary feature to qualify for the Senate should be *bonorum scilicet virorum et locupletium* (of course good and wealthy men), plus some immersion in Roman ways.¹⁹⁴ In addition to loyalty and wealth, a requirement for the senators who were foreigners (*peregrini*) Claudius allowed some, the *Anauni*, to retain the citizenship they had previously acquired, oblivious to the legal niceties that needed to be performed.¹⁹⁵ With regard to the township of Volubilis, where a local man Valerius

convenient shorthand to differentiate him from Tiberius, I feel that it does not reflect the carefully controlled use of names of the period and does not accurately portray his identity.

¹⁹⁴ Sherwin-White (1973) p.240.

¹⁹⁵ See *ILS* 206; Sherwin-White (1973) p.242.

Severus had been of the service to Rome in a colonial conflict,¹⁹⁶ Claudius granted a native request for citizenship which is recorded on inscriptions.¹⁹⁷

The award of citizenship to auxiliary (non-Roman) military personnel may provide a model for any rewards to the *Germani*. One theory is that in addition to a policy of awarding citizenship to Latins, Claudius followed Republican precedent of rewarding auxiliary forces which increased citizen numbers.¹⁹⁸ Sherwin-White also suggests that Claudius attempted to establish cores of citizens throughout the empire, which would form the basis of later expansion, and these nodes would be the *Galli*, *Hispani* and *Britanni* shown on military diplomas after AD52.¹⁹⁹ The invasion of Britain may have brought auxiliary units to the attention of Claudius and the reward of citizenship for loyal service could apply the principle expounded in the Lyon speech – ‘on any interpretation, the readiness of Claudius to assimilate citizen-soldiers and peregrine troops is manifest’.²⁰⁰ This policy might not apply directly to the *Germani corporis custodes* as they remained with the emperor until discharge, yet there may have been nothing to prevent Claudius from awarding citizenship; his accession, the revolt of AD42 and the invasion of Britain could provide between one and three good reasons for Claudius to reward his own bodyguard. Ti. Claudius Chloreus could have been rewarded for his loyalty and service by Claudius, or by Nero, or been granted a dual nationality status (as he is recorded as *nat. Batavus*) as a type of military decoration or honour. There is no concrete evidence that Claudius did reward the *Germani* for their part in his accession or subsequent events, and certainly none in the sources. Even with that *caveat*, it is not unreasonable to propose that Claudius might have offered some reward (and not necessarily in AD41) bearing in mind the policy to expand the citizenship and the military precedents for donatives (even though the *Germani* were technically not an auxiliary force).

It says much about Claudius that not only did the horseguards show loyalty to him and protect him, but they accepted citizenship and those such as Chloreus and

¹⁹⁶ Sherwin-White (1973) p.241 n4

¹⁹⁷ Sherwin-White (1973) p.242 n1.

¹⁹⁸ Sherwin-White (1973) p.246ff.; see *ILS* 8888 for Spanish cavalry granted citizenship *virtutis causa* in 89BC, and Sherwin-White (1973) p.245-6.

¹⁹⁹ Sherwin-White (1973) p.247; for diplomas see *CIL* XVI.61ff.

²⁰⁰ Sherwin-White (1973) p.249; p.248 note 7 for auxiliaries in Britain, also *Tac. Ann.* XI.24.

Diadumenus incorporated his name with theirs – it would hardly be a mark of privilege and respect if their new name was open to ridicule, or for such fierce warriors to have a title that was tainted by disability and weakness. Nero would be playing with fire and jeopardising the relationship with his foreign guards, by giving them the name of the emperor who had been mercilessly lampooned in the *Apocolocyntosis*.

Claudius gave a group of Spartan youths citizenship on his accession, ‘a fact attested by the frequency of the name Ti. Claudius at Sparta’.²⁰¹ In an examination of *nomina* given by the *princeps* as a mark of a direct grant of citizenship, Iulius and Claudius far outnumber any other *nomen*.²⁰² In opposition to the view of Nero’s influence, Box remarks that although Nero was a *philhellene*, he never went to Sparta because of his dislike of the Lycurgan constitution, and therefore was unlikely to confer citizenship on individuals from such a society.²⁰³ The family of Ti. Claudius Brasidas²⁰⁴ is proposed as an example of a sufficiently wealthy and noble family to have an ancestor in the group of boys brought to Rome by Gaius and given citizenship by Claudius.²⁰⁵ Box demonstrates that no proconsul or Governor of Achaea can be responsible for the spread of the *nomen* Claudius in that region; the records are mainly for the reign of Hadrian, therefore the *nomen* was already in use by then. The *nomen* Claudius in Laconia could only realistically be due to Claudius himself, and this weakens further the theory that citizens using Ti. Claudius may have been granted that privilege by Nero.

The evidence points to the need for a re-appraisal of the granting of citizenship and the creation of freedmen during the reign of Nero; this will have consequences for the study of the principate of Claudius.

²⁰¹ Walton (1929) p.42, and note 7; Other Greeks were also given citizenship, one example is Ti. Claudius Cleonymus *IGRR* IV.1060, and his brother was C. Stertinius Xenophon *IGRR* IV.1086, also see Walton p.42 note 9; Sherwin-White p.247 note 1, remarks on Greeks who were *procurators*, and these include those that bear Gaius’ name, C.Iulius Dionysius and C. Iulius Spartiatius.

²⁰² H.Box, ‘Roman Citizenship in Laconia’ *JRS* 21 (1931) 200-214. Box cites Walton p.38ff. regarding the erroneous statement that any recorded Ti. Claudius ‘X’ could have received it from either Claudius or Nero, as the latter was Ti. Claudius in law.

²⁰³ Box (1931) p.203, and note 5; Dio LXIII.14.3.

²⁰⁴ Box (1931) p.202, also see p.205, inc. notes 1 and 4.

²⁰⁵ Box (1931) p.205.

2.5d Gratus

The examination of names is a prelude to the analysis of the name Gratus in the sources, to demonstrate that if he was non-Roman on the Palatine he could only be German – this is a significant identification in the understanding of what happened in the palace. If Claudius was found by a member of the imperial bodyguard, or more likely his own guard, then the dynamics of the accession change considerably.

The military figure who came upon Claudius in the palace is reported as being named Gratus (a).²⁰⁶ This is a single appellation, which points initially at least to his being non-Roman if the reporting is accurate in Josephus. An earlier reference to the name is that of a Sebastenian officer whom Josephus also refers to as solely Gratus (b). He was an infantry officer of Herod's royal troops who,²⁰⁷ along with royal cavalry commanded by Rufus,²⁰⁸ joined with the Roman forces commanded by Sabinus in the palace at Jerusalem in AD4. The Sebastenians were troops recruited in Samaria, and auxiliaries were reported as being conscripted from Caesarea and Sebaste to form an *ala* stationed at Caesarea.²⁰⁹ Sabinus was the imperial procurator for the province of Syria under Augustus who commanded a legion left behind by Varus;²¹⁰ this force was bolstered in Jerusalem by his own slaves and armed auxiliaries.²¹¹ It is worth considering that the figure who found Claudius in the palace Gratus (c), may be a fictional character.²¹²

²⁰⁶ Jos.*Ant.* XIX.217-221; *PIR*.IV.223; the letter in brackets is to differentiate between the different persona.

²⁰⁷ Jos.*Ant.* XVII.275.

²⁰⁸ Jos.*Ant.* XVII.266.

²⁰⁹ Jos.*Ant.* XIX.365ff.; for the proposed posting of Caesarean and Sebastenian cavalry and five cohorts to Pontus as punishment meted out by Claudius in AD44 for insults being made to Agrippa and his family, see Jos.*Ant.* XIX.363-6 and note c p.389.

²¹⁰ Jos.*Bell. Iud.* 2.16ff; also see Jos.*Ant.* XVII.221ff, 252.

²¹¹ Jos.*Bell. Iud.* 2.41ff. The auxiliaries may be the Sebastenians or an additional unit.

²¹² Levick (1990) p.31 comments on the appropriateness or irony of the name Gratus (grateful).

Josephus mentions that the governor of Judaea after Pontius Pilate was Valerius Gratus,²¹³ whilst a list of ten possible candidates for the position of procurator under Augustus includes a Valerius Gratus.²¹⁴ This demonstrates that Josephus was capable of differentiating between a Roman and a non-Roman with similar names, because Gratus (b) was certainly not a Roman citizen if he was a member of Herod's troops. If he was recruited as an auxiliary after the incident in AD4 then he may have adopted a non-Samaritan name. There is the fact that both Gratus (a) and Gratus (b) serving in the units of the 'royal' house may be coincidental, plus the commander of the guards also being a Sabinus may be a further coincidence. Josephus might have used names with which he was already familiar for some of the protagonists in his account.²¹⁵ Against this is the probability that he would be able to verify the accounts of Gaius' death whilst he was in Rome, both under Nero and Vespasian. The use of a single name for Gratus (a) may well demonstrate that he was non-Roman, because Josephus was aware of other versions that included the name, and his reporting of Gratus (b) definitely rules out the possibility that he was Roman. If Gratus (a) follows Josephus' pattern regarding the use of Gratus (b), the use of a single name would correspond to the single names used and controlled by the *Germani* on enrolment. Unfortunately his recording of Sabinus as *procurator* may weaken the case for Gratus, although the Gratus in Josephus is the earliest recorded version, which does not necessarily disbar the use of a single *nomen* as a diacritic for the

²¹³ Jos.*Ant.*XVIII.33-5, 177. Josephus demonstrates having access to information and seems to include names when it is important to identify someone. He writes of the plot of Sejanus against Tiberius, *Ant.*XVIII.179ff. and mentions a slave of Gaius by name Thaumastus who ended up as the factor of Agrippa's estate *Ant.*XVIII.194.

²¹⁴ *PIR* IV.228 which also includes Iulius Gratus, Munatius Graus, L. Pomponius Gratus, L. Silius Gratus, L. Iulius Veh[il]ius Gr[at]us Iulianus, Vettius Gratus, Q. Sattius Fl(avius) Vettius Gratus, C. Vettius Gratus Atticus Sabinianus, C. Vettius Gr[at]us Sa]binianus. There are later records, of a Gratus as proconsul of Asia in AD154/5, *PIR*.IV.224; a proconsul of Africa in AD255-60, *PIR*.IV.225; as consul in AD280, *PIR*.IV.227; and ironically one is recorded as a friend of Claudius (II?) *PIR* IV.226. Also for example see *ILS* 466 for a consul in AD224, *ILS* 1327 for Praetorian prefect under Commodus L.Iulio Ve[hi]lio Gr[at]o Iuliano.

²¹⁵ P.J.Sijpesteijn, 'Flavius Josephus and the Praefect of Egypt' in 73 AD', 1979 p.117-124 examines the events surrounding the successor of Ti. Iulius Lupus as *praefect* of Egypt in AD73. After the fall of Massada (Jos.*Bell. Iud.*7.401), some of the Sicarii took refuge in Alexandria where they were delivered to the Romans by the Jews; the ensuing unrest forced Lupus to write to Vespasian in Rome. Ti. Iulius Lupus is attested by inscription at Karanis (25/2-26/3 AD73, Sijpesteijn p.118), and his death is recorded by Pliny *NH*.XIX.11, *Iulio Lupo qui in praefectura obiit* (Sijpesteijn note 10). There are two points of interest; Josephus wrote the *Jewish War* in Rome between AD75-9 (see Mason p.61ff.), and had access to imperial records, therefore his identification of Lupus can be shown to be accurate in this case; secondly, there is a possibility of the *praefect* being a descendant of the Praetorian tribune who killed Caesonia thirty-two years earlier.

Roman Sabinus. He may have been an imperial freedman in the legal or administrative position of *procurator*.²¹⁶ The name Sabinus is directly linked to the family of Vespasian, the patron of Josephus, and it may be the consul of AD9, G.Poppaeus Sabinus, who was the prefect of Syria. In contrast one of the conspirators who murdered Gaius was the tribune Cornelius Sabinus, which can either be depicted as a good thing, ridding Rome of a disastrous youth, or a bad thing, in the matter of assassinating an emperor. In any event, Josephus would have to be careful that he marshalled his sources well enough not to cause any confusion over identity. It is therefore very likely, given that the Sabinus in AD4 is probably Roman, that both Gratus (a) and (b) are not Roman citizens. If that is possible, then Gratus (a) could only belong to a foreign unit, and the only force that would fit that condition is the *corporis custodes*, the *Germani*. This allows the conclusion to be drawn that the soldier who found Claudius in the palace was a German, a member of the imperial bodyguard, and not a Praetorian guardsman. This is significant in understanding the chain of events after the assassination of Gaius.

²¹⁶ Cornelius Sabinus *PIR* III 1430, 1169, Suet.*Gaius*.LVIII.2ff.; (Titus) Flavius Sabinus the father of Vespasian, *publicum quadregesimae in Asia egit; manabantque imagines a civitatibus ei positae sub hoc titulo: ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΗΣΑΝΤΙ*, Suet.*Vesp*.I.2; Flavius Sabinus, brother of Vespasian who became *praefect* in Rome, Suet.*Ves*.I.3, he bargained with Vitellius to relinquish power and then led the attack on the Capitol setting fire to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Suet.*Vit*.XV.2-3; Flavius Sabinus, cousin of Domitian, Suet.*Dom*.X.3 executed for being mistakenly announced as emperor elect instead of consul; Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the Praetorians and one of the opponents of Galba, Suet.*Galba*.X,XVI.1; Oppius Sabinus was defeated against the Dacians, Suet.*Dom*.VI.1; Gaius Poppaeus Sabinus, consul in AD9, Suet.*Vesp*.II.1. Also recorded is Iulius Gratus, who was the *praefectus castrorum* in Vitellius' army, *PIR*.IV.348 see Tac.*Hist*.II.26. Although twenty-eight years later than the Gratus (a) who discovered Claudius, and although it is feasible a veteran would hold such a post, it seems unlikely that they are the same man. To be so Gratus (a) would have had to receive citizenship from Gaius or Tiberius, in order to be eligible for just army service in the legions, let alone promotion to the elite Guards which was not immediate; and then he would probably be denoted in the same manner as the Praetorian Ti. Iulius Lupus. Iulius Gratus' brother, Iulius Fronto was dismissed as *tribunis cohortis vigilum* by Galba (Tac.*Hist*.I.20.3) and resumed his military career with Otho; both brothers were incarcerated by their own side on the charge of liasing with each other during Caecina's defeat near Cremona, (Tac.*Hist*.II.26.1). By the brothers having different names, using their original name as a diacritic means they were the first generation of their family to receive citizenship (from either Tiberius or Gaius). Tacitus' account seems to introduce Iulius Gratus as though for the first time, although as his account of Claudius' accession is not extant, one cannot be absolutely certain. It seems likely that if he *were* the same man then he would have some form of epithet or nickname saying as much.

2.6a What really happened? The Germans and the accession

As has been shown, Claudius' accession was not straightforward, but the influence of the German bodyguard requires more explanation to contextualise some of the terms and phrases used about the accession by the people involved. The study will demonstrate that there is a concurrence between what is reported in Josephus, and the terms used by foreign or non-Roman groups when addressing or acclaiming a leader, chief or general. There is an important difference here, because it helps to show how a foreign group identified the office of *princeps* as general and political leader – the two functions are combined in the Roman acclamation of *imperator*.

If Sabinus led the *Germani* out of the palace to wreak havoc in acts of revenge, and Julius Lupus took Praetorians into the palace to execute Gaius' family, then the *Batavi* failed in their duty to protect the immediate family. It is unlikely that the Praetorians entered after Sabinus had left, but the *Germani* would not have completely emptied the palace; possible some would be looking for Gaius' family. The chaotic scenes relayed by Josephus may contain the bones of truth, because no matter how they were embellished, Claudius was either chanced upon by, or planned a rendezvous with, a 'friendly' face, not an enemy. Gaius was originally outside the palace where his protection would be from the *speculatores*/Praetorians, not from his foreign horseguard. Although Claudius left the theatre early, he should have been delivered to the palace and back under the protection of his *corporis custodes*. Later, once Claudius was under the protection of Gratus and the *Germani*, it would very difficult for any other force to assassinate him.²¹⁷ If that had been the plan (one similar to the fate that befell Caesonia and her daughter) if Gratus and his 'followers' held Claudius whilst Sabinus and his force were in the theatre, then Chaerea's forces would probably have had to attack a full complement of the German troops.

²¹⁷ Coulston (2000) p.98 describes the dynamic between the Praetorians and the *Germani*, 'reliance on just one bodyguard force was best avoided. Formations were established in order to counter-balance each other, and even to operate with a degree of rivalry, so that it was difficult for a military conspiracy to be organised without opposition. The Praetorians were balanced by the *Germani corporis custodes*, barbarians fiercely loyal to their war leader'.

The horseguards, whose loyalty was bought with promises or fortune, would probably wish another Julio-Claudian to continue in power to re-affirm their status and wealth – otherwise they would be redundant without a *princeps*. If the Germans held the most cards, the Praetorians would require little persuasion not to attack the barbarian elite force – hence the journey to the camp after the gathering outside the palace and the sidelining of the conspirators, and eventually of the Senate. If the barbarians held Claudius, the Praetorians, who had officers that had carried out orders against the imperial family, were in a weaker position to proclaim Claudius emperor from the outset, especially as some of the conspirators had designs on power for themselves. If Claudius had been afraid of the *Germani*, it could point to his guilt in a conspiracy.²¹⁸ It is likely any involvement would have been revealed in the Senate by at least some of the guards or co-conspirators in the shaky anti-imperial alliance involved with Chaerea and Sabinus, or by the co-conspirators themselves.

Claudius saw the heads of senators on pikes and he would know Gaius was dead, so he had good reason to be frightened if anyone approached him at least until he could

²¹⁸ Levick (1990) outlines three main problems in understanding the complex events of 24/25 January; the main sources all depend on accounts written close to the event (and predictably they will suffer from bias), they diverge on events and offer their own interpretations, whilst the official version is lost or submerged; secondly, the clandestine scheming of the assassination and its aftermath did not go according to the plans of the conspirators; thirdly, the personal aims of the conspirators were contained within a confederation to remove Gaius, which would fracture once that had been expedited, (Levick (1990) p.33-4). The main idea proposed is that 'the initiative came from Chaerea and his fellow-officers, was accepted by Vinicianus and other senators who meant to turn the outcome to the advantage of their order (or of some individual member), and was exploited while the senate hesitated under consuls who had divided loyalties by a third group acting in the interests of Claudius', (Levick (1990) p.35). The point is made that Claudius was in real danger, from the guardsmen who had killed Caesonia, the 'Republican sympathisers' in the senate and from probably being declared *hostis* by the senate while he was in the camp – these factors show that Claudius was in danger as soon as the plot was hatched to kill Gaius. As Claudius seems to have been at risk in the palace, like Callistus, (Levick (1990) p.36) surmises that it would be realistic for him 'to anticipate an uncontrolled assassination that would lead to his own death by one that he could control and which would put him in the power he had long sought to share'. There is compelling evidence that Anteius may have represented those who had links with Germanicus, but that does not mean he was implicated; the evidence linking Asprenas is even more tenuous (a favourable question in the senate by his father, in AD20); conversely Veranius a tribune of the *plebs*, who negotiated with Claudius, is a senator that is not seen as a conspirator even though he was made Governor of Lycia in AD43, (Levick (1990) p.37). The conclusion reached is that Claudius was involved to some degree, but to what extent is undetermined, and it is 'very likely it was kept indeterminate, his agents having to interpret or anticipate his wishes' (see Levick (1990) p.38 and note 23). In further justification, 'the technique, disreputable, essentially infantile, but useful and adopted by others, is that of allowing others to act or engineering them into it, while the principal continues 'ignorant' of what is going on', (Levick (1990) p.38).

determine who they were, and this would explain Claudius' challenge on his discovery. There is maybe a literary precedent, which will be discussed in the next section, for Josephus calling Claudius αὐτοκράτορ and ἡγεμῶν, along with the separation of military command from imperial constitutional ruler. Therefore being hailed *imperator* by the soldiers who found him, is plausible if he was found by the *Germani*.²¹⁹

These events somewhat undermine the implied grotesque physical descriptions of Claudius in Josephus, and his excessive fear and timidity in the later versions produced by Suetonius and Dio. Although portrayed as in fear of his life, Claudius would be known to, and recognised by the *Germani*. The formal usage of the Germanicus *cognomen* would fit this concept.

2.6b The acclamation *Imperator*

In Josephus, the Praetorians were able to acclaim Claudius αὐτοκράτορ without any authority, and against the wishes of the Senate; when the urban Cohorts switched sides the senators were left in the hopeless situation of having a voice with no power, resulting in their capitulation.²²⁰ The orthodox view that the Praetorians proclaimed Claudius emperor, only has relevance if it is placed in its proper context. The sources provide their own specific context for the reader, but the main thread seems to be that a single man was unable to proclaim another king/ruler (an inversion of Edeco and Scipio), but he could salute his military commander; conversely the massed cohorts of the Praetorians usurped the authority to bestow *imperium* upon Claudius, and did so in addition to acclaiming their new General even though the role of *princeps* contained both military and civilian powers.²²¹ The outline of events is still valid if Gratus is a member of the *Germani* or a Praetorian, but if he were the former then the dynamics of the situation would be radically altered. If Gratus is a

²¹⁹ See Tac.*Ann.* II.11 for AD16, and II.6,8.

²²⁰ See L.Lesuisse La nomination de l'empereur et le titre d'"Imperator", 1961 p.420.

²²¹ This situation would be replayed later by Otho in AD69, who began his bid for power with two Praetorian *speculatores*, and eventually seized the principate by being acclaimed by only 23 men; see Speidel (1994) p.35.

German there is no reason why he cannot acclaim Claudius as his leader or his king within the Roman title of emperor.

Suetonius writes that a *gregarius miles* discovered Claudius;²²² an inscription from the villa Pamphilia records that Nobilis was a *miles* in the *corporis custodes*.²²³ Although it is only one inscription, it does raise a question over the *miles* in Suetonius' account. The identity of the specific military unit becomes less clear, and it becomes more difficult to state with any certainty that the *miles* in Suetonius is a Praetorian, as it is evident that an ordinary rank and file German horseguard could also be referred to as a *miles* and an officer as a *decurio*.

The question follows as to whether the sources, or any tradition, would allow foreign horseguards in the private employ of the emperor and his family to be reported as, in effect placing the new emperor in power. Would it improve Claudius' position as *princeps* if he were seen to be in the debt of his barbarian guards? The events have not been completely suppressed, either in the hostile anti-Claudian sources of Josephus nor in Dio, but they have been subtly camouflaged by ridiculing Claudius, or by omitting the protagonist's true status. Chaerea is positively identified, whilst the Gratus figure is not – only by unravelling the problem of nomenclature can one see his probable true identity. Even the interpretation of Claudius being ridiculed in Josephus' description of his unearthing by the guard, can be dismantled if Gratus is one of Gaius' or Claudius' *own* horseguards, although it is more difficult to transfer the explanation to Suetonius or Dio, since both substantially imply the weak and ineffectual nature of Claudius, even if there are echoes of satire.²²⁴

²²² Suet. *Claud.* X.2; See Wiseman (1991) n217 where a possible typographic error results in the statement that *gregarius miles* refers to a 'private soldier', which is ambiguous and could mean a private soldier in terms of an unofficial bodyguard which would point to the *Germani* – which is not the point Wiseman was trying to make, that Gratus was a Praetorian; also cites Aurelius Victor *Caes.* 3.16 where 'Vimius a centurion from Epirus' is a 4th century comment on barbarian corruption in the army.

²²³ NOBILIS MILES. IMPER. NERONIS. AUG. CORP. CUST. DEC. RABUTI. NAT. BATVS. MILIT. AN.II. VIX. AN. XX. H.S.E. POSUIT. BAEBIUS. D. RABUTI HERES; *CIL* VI.8806

²²⁴ For the satirical nature, which may point to the sarcastic recognition of Claudius as his brother Germanicus and Fabius Rusticus see Wiseman (1991) p.88 note 216.

Seneca writes of the main character in the conspiracy, *Chaerea contra a tribuno militum, sermo non pro manu erat, languidus sono et, ni facta nosses, suspectior*.²²⁵ Gaius taunted him by giving watchwords that would humiliate Chaerea, for example *Venus*; it was for this reason that he plotted to kill the emperor, and was first to strike before the others rained blows down upon Gaius.²²⁶ Because of his effeminate voice and the ridicule he endured, Chaerea seems the least likely figure for a hero on first inspection; although in reality he was one of the initial conspirators and was executed for his role, the vehemence and desire to fight back against abuse targeted at an ‘abnormality’ is an unusual factor. Gaius demonstrates an awareness of weakness, which may also be represented in his reported derogatory treatment of Claudius, although the sources may be making the most of anything promulgated about Gaius.

Another example from Seneca is, *iratus fuit Herrenio Macro, quod illum Gaium salutaverat, nec impune cessit primiplari, quod Caligulam dixerat*,²²⁷ where Gaius saw the latter as a reproach and a disgrace now he had reached adulthood. Seneca says that it was because Gaius saw insults in everything, but for a soldier to use Gaius’ *praenomen* was disrespectful as it was only used within the family; the same disrespect was apparent from using a nickname. This anecdote may explain Josephus’ report of Gratus using the *agnomen* Germanicus, as the military personnel present on the Palatine would be aware of the importance of addressing the emperor, and probably his family, in the correct manner. It is distorting the evidence to argue that given the requirement to address the emperor with respect, by addressing Claudius correctly as Germanicus, the soldier was showing the necessary respect for the new *princeps*. It is sufficient to propose that the troops, and especially the

²²⁵ Sen.*De Const.*XVIII.3.

²²⁶ In addition, *plurimum deinde undique publicas ac privitas iniuras ulcipientium gladiatorum ingestum est, sed primus vir fuit, qui minime visus est*, Sen.*De Const.*XVIII.4.

²²⁷ Sen.*De Const.*XVIII.4. Seneca also writes on the injuries and insults received by a wise man, and how that man deals with them; there may be sections that would apply to Claudius, Sen.*De Const.*X.4 for example, which require further examination bearing in mind the coins produced with *Constantia* represented on them in AD41. The description of the repulsive physical nature of Gaius requires a comparison to the treatment of Claudius by the sources in a later section.

C.Caesar inter cetera vitia, quibus abundabat, contumeliosus mira libidine ferebatur omnis aliqua nota feriendi, ipse materia risus benignissima: tanta ill palloris insaniam testantis foeditas erat, tanta oculorum sub fronte anili latentium torvitas, tanta capitis destituti et emendicaticiis capillis apersi deformitas; adice obsessam seatis cervicem et exilitatem crurum et enormitatem pedum. Sen.*De Const.*XVIII.1.

Germani given their proximity to the *princeps*, would be careful to address any member of the imperial family accurately, and with respect.

The importance of the terms used in Josephus to describe Gratus' acclamation and offer to Claudius, αὐτοκτατορ and offering the τηρονον of the βασιλέως, while the Praetorians vote for a αὐτὸν ἡγαγον (sole leader), demonstrates an awareness of the separation of powers as understood by a foreign soldier. Josephus does not claim that a straight acclamation of *imperator* was issued; he includes the concept of a throne and regal rule such as expected of a tribal chieftain/king. The passage may therefore contain elements of an eyewitness account; Josephus would be very aware of the terminology of an *imperator* from his patron Vespasian. These terms will be briefly discussed to enable their use to be understood in the accession, and may shed light on Josephus as a source. A brief early example of the use of these terms in Polybius and Livy will help illuminate the meaning in Josephus.

Scipio Africanus was saluted as king by the Spaniards, but he wanted to be addressed as *imperator*. Combès argues that it is because Scipio was the first to be elected 'privatus cum imperio' and this set a precedent for the *salvatio* to be given as an honorific title.²²⁸ *Imperium* is conferred by the Senate, and takes the form of either military or political and military powers whilst on campaign, and 'the *imperator* can only be used of the holder of military or full *imperium*',²²⁹ so the orthodox understanding is that a successful general with full *imperium* was acclaimed *imperator*.²³⁰

The point is that for the Spaniards, the non-Romans or *peregrini*, their leader was a βασιλέως, a king;²³¹ for Scipio he was a consul and with that came the military

²²⁸ R. Develin, 'Scipio Africanus Imperator', 1977 p.110.

²²⁹ Combès in Develin (1977) p.111.

²³⁰ Develin's example is: *P.Scipioni cos. imp. ob restitutam Saguntum ex. S.C.... CIL II.3836*. In contrast Livy could use *imperator* as a term only for a general in the field, which could not be mistaken for a greeting nor an acclamation, Livy.XXVIII.19.18; also see Develin(1977) p.111.

²³¹ See Develin (1977) p.111 –3 and n6 for Livy translating Polybius where αὐτοχράτωρ becomes *imperator*; After a defeat of the Spanish tribes, they acclaimed the republican general Scipio βασιλέα, and in reply he told them he wanted to act with a king's virtues and manner, but not to be named as such – Scipio ordered them to call him στρατηγός (general), Polyb.X.40.2-5.Regardless

command, which corresponds to *imperator* – these two elements would not remain separate entities after the principate of Augustus.²³² Imperial usage of *imperator*, even if it is interpreted as combining the regal and military at any stage up to the reign of Nero, would deflect any criticism from any whiff of the designation *rex*, which for Roman citizens signalled the disgraced leaders of Rome before the Republic. One may be able to draw forward the incident in Spain, on two distinct levels, to AD41; the separation of king and general, and the foreign interpretation of Roman leadership.

Gratus, who found Claudius, saluted him in the palace as *imperator* whilst offering him the throne of his ancestors;²³³ although initially he was saluting his military leader as *imperator*, it was later in the Praetorian camp that Claudius was acclaimed *imperator*, but this time with the full constitutional powers of *imperium* – hence the need for the Senate to concede this legal requirement. The Senate were not passing a decree supporting Gratus' acclamation but they were underpinning the decision of the bulk of the Praetorians. Therefore when Gratus tells Claudius to take the throne of his ancestors, the inference is the powers of a βασιλέως. It is unlikely in practice that one man can bestow these powers; it needs the gathered armed forces of an army, as one would for electing a Spanish or German tribal king.²³⁴

of the semantics, Scipio was still acclaimed as leader, but the Spaniards saw him as fulfilling the criteria for a king and were in effect giving him their support as they would their own king, even if that offended his Roman sensibilities; the result was that he refused to accept the appellation.

²³² See J.S.Richardson, 'Imperium Romanum: Empire and the Language of Power', 1991 p.1-9 for a discussion of the changing nature of *imperium* up to the principate of Augustus. See R. Syme, (1958) p.172-188 for discussion of use of *imperator* as a *praenomen* by Augustus, and Syme (1979,) 'Some Imperial Salutations', p.308-328 gives a survey of the acclamation *imperator* for the Julio-Claudians from 19BC to AD9/10. Lesuisse (1961) p.415-428 presents a full survey drawn solely from the sources re the use of *imperator* by successive emperors from Augustus to Vespasian. Also see C.J.Simpson, 'Imp. Caesar Divi filius. His second imperial acclamation and the evolution of an allegedly exorbitant name', 1998 p.419-437.

²³³ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.221ff.; Wiseman (1991) p.89 and note 219. This double offer is at odds with the other version in Josephus where the Praetorians convene and decide to seize Claudius as part of a strategic plan to make him αὐτοκράτορ or less likely ἡγεμὼν Jos.*Ant.*XIX.162-6. Suet.Claud.X.2 reports that Gratus used the word *imperator*, and that it was the *multitudo* in the senate who called for a *rectorem*, whilst the troops swore their allegiance to Claudius.

²³⁴ See Tac.*Ger.*7, 10-12, 43-4 for barbarian kingship, and Tacitus also describes a separation of duties and titles between *imperator* and king for the German tribes, *reges ex nobilitate*, *duces ex virtute sumunt*, 'they choose their kings for their noble birth, their leaders for their valour', *Ger.*7. The Germanic peoples choose their king, and H. Wolfram, *Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples*, 1997 p.15 interprets Tacitus as appearing 'to describe the simultaneous existence of royal and military (ducal) authority, he was in fact recording two forms of Germanic kingship that supplemented, indeed succeeded, one another'. Wolfram p.16 expands on this, citing that Tacitus is referring to the 'Gallic-West Germanic revolution'; by 50BC the tribes on the Rhine had no kings, but retained 'royal

The separation of the two elements is also found in Dio which may suggest the sources are either demonstrating the influence of the foreigners on events, or are projecting their own Eastern influences and understanding on their accounts. That Dio does also include this feature of Claudius' accession may mean that he is using similar sources to Josephus, or Josephus' account – the separation of the two factors is not clear in Suetonius, but his use of *rector* may be important. *Rector* has the root *rego*, and the concept of a sole ruler is not exactly far removed from that of a king; *rex* has the same root as *rector* in Latin. Suetonius' account retains the idea of the single military salutation by the soldier, and the bestowal (in effect) of 'royal' powers by the masses. Suetonius calls this power *imperium* which does not seem to sit comfortably with *rector*, but he makes no mention of ratification by the Senate, so the views of the masses may not be convergent with the legal requirements, that the Senate discharged their duty is probably shown by the use of *imperium* to describe the status Claudius had now achieved, he was certainly not ratified *rector*.²³⁵

The fact that the Praetorians acclaimed Claudius *imperator*, without having the same authority as vested in the Senate, is not as clear as it should be; Suetonius does not state this in his account, he writes that the *multitudo* call for Claudius to be the sole ruler – the *multitudo* may include the Praetorians but that is not apparent. Dio writes that the Praetorians who found Claudius acclaim him αὐτοκράτορ and on reaching the camp, the bulk of the Praetorians vote him αὐτὸν ἡγαγον (sole

families', oligarchies that Rome could support as they prevented a return to kingship. On the outer fringes, a more 'ancient' form survived in Scandinavia, Britain and the Eastern Germanic tribes, which could include a dual kingship similar to the Spartan system. In etymological terms, in the same way that *tribus* is complemented by the office of *tribunus*, the counterpart of the Gothic *thuida* (People) is the office of *thuidans*, and similarly *kind* (race) has the office of the *kindins*; the old tribal kingship was replaced by a king of a migrating army consisting of different tribes, Ariovistus being one example; another marker of change was Arminius tried to be the army commander (*dux*), and did so by defeating a Marcomanni tribal alliance, (Wolfram p.16). The king by descent (*rex ex nobilitate*) represented one ethnic and regional group, whilst the commander (*dux ex virtute*) had to rise to lead a 'victorious polyethnic army' and 'he was 'chosen' by the army...because of a decisive victory that brought the tribe to a new land' (Wolfram p.18). Therefore the old successor tribal kingship was gradually replaced by the king of a victorious army, who became the founder of a new royal family, and a new group (Wolfram p.18). Wolfram goes on to write that 'defining and contrasting the two types of kingship is fraught with all the dangers of generalisation', (Wolfram p.19).

²³⁵ Syme (1979) p.325 comments on the twenty-seven times Claudius was saluted as *imperator*, see Dio LX.21.4 for taking more salutations than normal for the invasion of Britain. Gaius had already done something similar in Germany, taking seven acclamations of *imperator*, Dio LIX.22.2.

leader),²³⁶ and refuse to accept an absolute and sole ruler, an αὐτοκράτορ, chosen by anyone other than themselves. But Dio writes that Claudius is part of a βασιλικοῦ γένους,²³⁷ which suggests that he is part of a hereditary monarchy or a royal family.²³⁸ The lack of clarity, especially as Dio states that the Praetorians were giving a different set of powers to those who found Claudius, seems to be embedded within the term *imperator*. This is confused further by the separation of the powers conferred, commander and the additional powers of the *princeps* (which includes the overall military command), being intertwined with royal connotations. στρατηγός, ἡγεμών, and βασιλέως seem to be the words and meanings that are contained within *imperator* and it appears reasonable to propose that in context for each incidence of *imperator*, at least one of these Greek words should be applied.

Concerning the use of *imperator*, Campbell writes that the acclamation had become ‘the prerogative of the imperial family early in the reign of Augustus’,²³⁹ and he used it to increase the military standing of his adoptive family of Tiberius and Germanicus. Claudius does not fit this model as he is not a member of the *Julii* (although a case could be made for Claudius capitulating to the idea) but in the initial period of his reign he resisted the temptation to use the title. ‘The political importance of the acclamation is highlighted by the fact that from the time of Gaius, emperors apparently considered acceptance by the army as this first salutation’, and ‘from the time of Gaius onwards it was normal for the emperor to address the Praetorian guard at his accession, and it may be conjectured that the men expressed their approval by acclaiming him *imperator*’.²⁴⁰ This interpretation is fraught with complications regarding Claudius. The former statement would apply after Claudius had brokered the financial deal with the Praetorians, who were made to swear an oath of loyalty.²⁴¹ This occurred after the Praetorian debate on the Palatine on whether to

²³⁶ Dio.LX.1.3.

²³⁷ Dio.LX.1.3; and Livy draws distinction between Roman soldiers’ concern for Scipio their *imperator*, Livy.XXVIII.19ff, and the Spanish troops would fight for him as a *ducis*, (leader), XXVIII.21.4.

²³⁸ Arist.Pol.1285a.16, 1313a.10; see Liddell & Scott.

²³⁹ Campbell (1996) p.283; Baynham (2004) p.131ff identifies Curtius’ emphasis on *rex* and *dux* with respect to Alexander as king and general. Baynham’s later chapters are dedicated to a discussion of these aspects in relation to the politics of power, and concludes that the *Historiae* is not an allegory for a single emperor but a study of absolute power and how *regnum* affects the interaction between king and subjects, see p.216.

²⁴⁰ Campbell (1996) p.126-7.

²⁴¹ Jos.Ant.XIX.247ff.

install him as emperor,²⁴² or after the ‘earlier’ decision to kidnap Claudius drawn from another source.²⁴³ The latter case again is difficult, because Claudius had little choice but to speak to the Praetorians and the address was not part of an investiture ritual.²⁴⁴

2.7 *Fin*: The beginning of the end

When Claudius swept into the open air on the Palatine probably surrounded by the *Germani*, and followed by some *speculatores*/Praetorians, there is no suggestion in *Antiquities* that he looked like a prisoner. If he did not look like a hostage or a captive then Claudius would look every inch an emperor, protected by his *corporis custodes*, and if the latter group had transferred their loyalty to Claudius then it was a small mental leap for the spectating Praetorians to reach their decision; Claudius already had one and possibly two elements required in any explicit display of the status of *dux/princeps/imperator* in Rome. The visual impact on such a disorientated group would be enormous and should not be underestimated. There is no suggestion that there had been any conscious decision taken by any of the parties as they moved out of the palace, except that all felt it was safe to do so. The appearance of Claudius in such military company may have been enough for the gathering throng of Praetorians to ‘buy the idea’, which does not mean they are being ‘sold the idea’. One could argue that the Germans probably knew that in Claudius they had the trump card, but whatever that card was used for was beyond their remit, and probably beyond their interest, save for the promise of money or rewards from their new *dux*. When Claudius appears on the Palatine in front of the Praetorians, there is a visual similarity to the incident where Nero was presented to them outside the palace, where he was acclaimed emperor as Claudius’ successor. The Praetorian prefect Burrus accompanied Nero as he exited the palace; Claudius arrived with the emperor’s bodyguard – in both cases, albeit in different circumstances, the

²⁴² *Jos.Ant.*XIX.223ff. the Praetorians were determined to proclaim Claudius *imperator*; XIX.225 it was possible for Claudius to gain principate only with the Praetorians support; XIX.247 Claudius addresses the assembled troops, and the donative *follows* the oath.

²⁴³ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.167ff.

²⁴⁴ *Jos.Ant.*247ff; his reluctance to address the Praetorians in the camp is manifest in *Dio.*LX.3; *Suet.Claud.*X.3-4.

Praetorians are being presented with the next emperor. The Senate had debated on what course of action to take after Gaius' death, proactive or reactive to the reported situation – Gaius is dead, and Claudius is in the Praetorian camp.²⁴⁵ Either they propose to restore the Republic, or send a deputation to Claudius to ask him to accede to their threats and avoid a war.

If the Senate was bent on restoring the Republic, then a primary aim was to suppress the ambitions of rival claimants Marcus Vinicius and Valerius Asiaticus to the principate and therefore power, which demonstrates the desperation of the situation, and that the conspirators' plans had gone wrong.²⁴⁶ The Praetorians were inclined towards a single leader to ensure their own survival, and this aspiration would probably have been met by either of these two men. The split within the Senate is shown by Chaerea still pressing for a Republic,²⁴⁷ which eventually pushed the Urban Cohorts away (they had also demanded a single ruler).²⁴⁸ The Senate drew back from a potential bloodbath in Rome by restraining the rivals for power, but that pretext hides the probability that Claudius was evidently capable of taking control. The Senate was in a weaker military position, and they had no real popular support, graphically illustrated by the steady stream of gladiators, *vigiles* and rowers steadily filtering through to the camp overnight.²⁴⁹ That the Senate was unable to put forward a more attractive or more able candidate is not purely down to the weakness of their position.

The text at *Ant.*XIX.223 says that a larger gathering of στρατιωτικός (than Claudius had with him) were overjoyed at the sight/appearance, ὄψιν, of Claudius and they insisted he should be made emperor because of the popularity of Germanicus. The Praetorian debate on 'why Claudius?' follows, which suggests that

²⁴⁵ *Jos.Ant.*158ff. and 227ff.

²⁴⁶ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.250-3.

²⁴⁷ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.256. The Praetorians may have been worried that they would be disbanded under a Republic, but there is no evidence that the senate were planning to abolish the Praetorians. Barrett (1993) p161-3, also see p173-4 raises the question why the Praetorians under Chaerea would support the senate, the very body who would purge them from Rome. Does this make them idealists as Josephus paints them (Barrett (1993) p161), who would risk their own future for the good of Rome, or was there a blueprint to retain their services in some capacity?

²⁴⁸ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.250.

²⁴⁹ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.253.

there is a definite chronological break between Claudius arriving and a decision being reached; this is also reflected by the syntactical separation of the sentence. In addition, as more units arrived, the issues at stake were reported to them and they ‘enthusiastically endorsed the proclamation’.²⁵⁰ Even this interpretation shows that it was a gradual process and the claim that the acclamation was because of affection for his brother Germanicus contains a problem – these soldiers, who held Germanicus in such affection would be at least 35 years old and would have to have stayed on as officers in the Praetorians beyond their normal service of 16 years.²⁵¹ The support via Germanicus’ reputation could have disseminated from the tribunes to their cohorts, the discussion spreading in a semi-circular ripple effect. The senior men not involved in the conspiracy probably laid out the choices, options and consequences before their assembled men, which would allow discussions to proceed at a reasonable rate. That they would all come to the same conclusions at the same time is less likely. The troops on the Palatine had no idea who was still alive within the palace, which meant meaningful discussions would take place once they saw Claudius was alive – this would make the account at *Ant.*XIX.162 more shaky as how would the Praetorians definitely know that Claudius was still alive, bearing in mind the unpredictability of the *Germani*, and how near they had come to massacring the citizens in the theatre?²⁵² If the senior Praetorians did have any real influence on the cohorts during the tense situation, then it is *their* knowledge of, and contact with, Claudius (and Germanicus) which would have been decisive; it depends very much whether one believes the sources that there was a groundswell of opinion pushing up, or that it was more the influence of the few on the many. It would be too dangerous in the hours that Rome was a rudderless ship to promote a weak and indefensible candidate; to do that would probably have provoked a civil war.²⁵³

²⁵⁰ Wiseman (1991) p.33 line226. This implies that the decision had already been taken, and was only being ratified. The vote was whether to install Claudius as emperor, not whether to endorse a prior decision on the Palatine. It would make more sense if the Praetorians were being asked to endorse a prospective acclamation.

²⁵¹ Unless the affection for Germanicus could transfer between the generations.

²⁵² *Jos.Ant.*XIX.138ff. For the textual corruption in Josephus see Barrett (1993) appendix 3.

²⁵³ Scramuzza (1940) proposes that the Praetorians, representative of Italians who would probably want to preserve the constitutional status quo, would be aware of their abolition under a Republic, and ‘it is inconceivable that they should, in such a critical moment, cast their lot in with a weakling’ p.54. He adds that ranged against Vinicianus, Valerius Asiaticus and Galba ‘if Claudius had been known to be a weakling, any of these pretenders must have seemed to the Praetorians to be a safer bet’ p.54-5. The orthodox reasons given for Claudius’ elevation are also challenged, ‘in sum, if intelligent men (Tiberius, Gaius, Callistus) deemed him capable of the succession, and the conspirators regarded him as a stumbling block, is it not fair to assume that he possessed ability besides his other assets of birth, kinship with the extinct dynasty, and the name Germanicus?’ p.56. By contrast ‘and whatever his weakness as a candidate, this was the son of Nero Drusus, the brother of Germanicus, the uncle of

In return for their support, the Praetorians wanted a major financial reward; this reduces and denigrates the eligibility of Claudius in the sources, but it could be argued that in reality the Praetorians realised the high stakes involved,²⁵⁴ and their decision was vindicated when Claudius delivered. Yet in Dio, it is Claudius who binds the cohorts to him, with no suggestion of any partnership. Is this a weak man pushed unwillingly into the role of *princeps* in order to be manipulated by a greedy Praetorian guard? Or a rational choice of promoting a suitable and effective candidate who could tackle the Senate? Both scenarios would benefit the Praetorians. There is no denying the fact that Claudius needed the support of the Praetorians but they also needed him – this was a symbiotic relationship, which would outlast the new *princeps*. Whether Claudius had designs on the principate is not substantiated in the sources.²⁵⁵ What can be deduced is that the protection of Claudius by the *corporis custodes* changed the dynamics of the hours following the death of Gaius, and gave the Praetorians the opportunity to pool their resources behind the most credible candidate for the principate in the face of senatorial opposition. Any proposal that the accession was so smooth that it points the finger of suspicion at Claudius' role in any conspiracy,²⁵⁶ can be answered by the fact that there is no direct evidence in the sources. If Claudius was directly involved in any capacity, there would be an account somewhere, as a conspirator or a fringe player could "spill-the-beans" at a later date, more than likely to be after Claudius' death. The sources create a picture of a weak emperor, so to have him involved in a conspiracy would paint the conspirators, at the very least, as desperate. Alternatively, this would be perfect ammunition for the sources who could add serious weight to the portrayal of Claudius as a puppet king, being pulled three different ways by wives, freedmen and the 'evil' conspirators. This is just too good an opportunity for Seneca or Suetonius to let slip. Nero attacked Claudius, probably later in his own principate, with 'every kind of insult, in act and word, charging him now with folly and now cruelty'.²⁵⁷ The contrast to the eulogy delivered at Claudius' funeral is entirely consistent with the degenerative nature of

their emperor, and so linked, though in ways that might be difficult for the man in the street to specify, with the founder of the dynasty, Augustus'; Levick (1990) p.33.

²⁵⁴ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.223-6.

²⁵⁵ The intervention of Agrippa should not be dismissed as wholly Josephus' bias; see Wiseman (1991) p.93 note 236, p.95 notes 246-53.

²⁵⁶ Barrett (1993) p.176.

²⁵⁷ Suet.*Nero*.XXXIII.1.

Nero's reign. One cannot imagine Nero worrying unduly about the irony of accusing Claudius of assassinating a *princeps*.²⁵⁸

The *corporis custodes* are 'in the system' by AD41; they are not a strange or a marginalised component in the imperial structure but a substantial segment in the personal world of the emperor and his family. They have served the Roman leadership since recruitment by Caesar, which means they have had a significant presence that spans over eighty years, and co-existence with the Praetorians was possible because of their different duties, but this allowed the *Germani* to be self-sufficient. The Germans answered to nobody except the emperor, who was their commander-in-chief, so if he were removed then they would look after their own interests. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the Germans were used to electing their kings and leaders, and this would have had a bearing on how they viewed Claudius, before and after the murder of Gaius. There is a definite separation in the sources of the concepts of kingship and military command, the meaning of which has been slightly obscured in translation. The *Germani* are fiercely loyal to the Julio-Claudians, and this is not about money, but about honour to their leader. The Praetorians also have a similar split in definition of a ruler, where the *princeps* is the embodiment of general and king, yet they still offer a salute to their military commander. The similarity of the benefits that an emperor brought to the Praetorians and the *corporis custodes* is inherent in the nature of their service. After Gaius' death, the *Germani* were proactive whilst the Praetorians not in the conspiracy were reactive; this is the dynamic of action versus the inertia debate.

The *Germani* probably put a huge spanner in the works by finding Claudius first; one consequence was that the Praetorians were able to flex their muscles in opposition to the conspirators, and the revolt of AD42 by Camillus Scribonianus in Dalmatia demonstrates that affairs had not been entirely settled. Wiseman identifies the five rivals to Claudius for the Principate in AD41 who were still active in AD42.²⁵⁹ The moment after the horseguards took Claudius from the palace complex (probably aiming for their own camp nearby across the Tiber), he was safe. As he was led

²⁵⁸ Suet.*Nero*.XXXIII.1.

²⁵⁹ Wiseman, *Calpurnius Siculus and the Claudian civil war*, 1982 p.60ff.

away through the Praetorians in the palace there was no way he was under any threat of assassination – if he were to die now the *Batavi* would ensure an enormous number would have gone with him. That the Roman soldiers were unsettled by another patrician being led away, as though under threat from the Germans, and probably, in their eyes, facing the same fate as the murdered senators is understandable on two levels; unhappy that a member of the imperial family had been seized and apprehensive at the potential ferocity of the *corporis custodes* should they need to fight them. The action of all parties on the Palatine only reinforces the perception of confusion and uncertainty in the first few hours after the assassination.

At this precise moment there is a “Mexican stand-off”: Chaerea, the conspirators (possibly including his own cohorts and those of Cornelius Sabinus’) and the Senate (with the Urban Cohorts) against the bulk of the remaining Praetorians, and Claudius with the *corporis custodes*. As events unfolded, regardless of the sequence in Josephus, all were a result of Claudius being in the hands of the *Germani*, which at the very least would have prevented Chaerea carrying out the plan to kill Claudius, a plan which would only have been necessary if he posed a credible threat to the next stage. This betrays a negative portrayal of Claudius in the sources, but it would concur with the image of a man capable of bargaining with the Senate and gaining the support of the Praetorians. Both of these episodes would require behaviour and speech markedly different from that reported on his discovery in the palace – the effect of emotional factors, fear and stress on dysfluency will be examined later.

One point has been overlooked by historians, which is that the conspirators had less influence over the Praetorians than Claudius – the orthodox view is that the troops did not trust for their future under a democracy.²⁶⁰ If it was only a question of levels of pay being continued for an elite force (which it could if the duties were to protect the consuls in the ‘New Republic’), then there would be no gain for the Senate to risk having a disaffected ‘army’ in Rome; one answer would be to maintain the status of the cohorts, but did they offer that? The preservation of a genuine candidate for the

²⁶⁰ Barrett (1993) p.176 questions why the Praetorians under Chaerea would support the senate, the very institution which would abolish them? They might be idealists, or there had been a plan to offer another form of service for the cohorts in Rome that has not been recorded. Barrett highlights a strange argument, one that is in a similar vein to turkeys voting for Christmas.

principate was more of a minus for the Senate, the Praetorians seemed to need convincing hence the debates. It could be argued that the sizeable sum Claudius promised was to ensure their loyalty, because their loyalty was not guaranteed at that stage – which points to the probability that they did not actually have Claudius under their ‘control’ from the outset.

Up to one thousand formidable *Batavi*, the equivalent of two Praetorian cohorts, was a sizeable force and convincing enough reason for the Roman forces to avoid further bloodshed. That Claudius gave such a massive sum to the Praetorians shows either that he was actually following the precedent set by Julius Caesar to ensure the loyalty of his own horseguards, or that the level of Claudius’ initial distrust for the Praetorians is directly related to the size of the sum. If he felt he could really trust them, would the sum have been much smaller? There is nothing that occurs during Claudius’ night in the camp nor on the following day, to suggest or even hint that he was incapable on any level (mental or physical) of discharging his duties and responsibilities as he manoeuvred into the principate. He was certainly proficient enough in ensuring the support to guarantee his own survival.

How does Claudius, who is centrally involved in the events following the death of Gaius, correspond to the Claudius reported in the sources,²⁶¹ especially the descriptions of his physical and mental impairment? Does the picture presented of him in AD41 show any basic differences from that of fourteen years later at the end of his reign? There is sufficient evidence to suppose that the Claudius of AD41 was an able man, who possibly had some form of weakness in one or both legs. There is no mention of his speech, except for the excessive emotional reaction at the point of discovery. The portrait of Claudius is reasonably consistent, and not derogatory, bearing in mind the particular bias of the sources. As a result, it is possible to put forward the hypothesis that AD41 is a realistic starting point for any study of Claudius’ health degenerating. This possibility will be examined in detail in the medical chapters.

²⁶¹ Suet. *Claud.* XXX for example

3. *War and Peace* or Buster Keaton? Suetonius and Claudius' accession?

The idea of Claudius being discovered hiding behind the curtain is one that is full of comic intent, and as a result, this chapter offers a radical interpretation of the account of Claudius' accession passed down in Suetonius' *Lives*. The curtain is crucial to understanding the development of Suetonius' version of the accession. The chapter will argue that not only does the curtain act as a physical and metaphorical boundary in his account, but it reflects a version of the accession that came from a stage performance of a mime. Suetonius produces the only version of the accession to include the description of Claudius hiding behind the curtain, or to incorporate a curtain anywhere in the chain of events, so it is important to treat this as a separate version in its own right.

The chapter is split into three main sections, focusing on Suetonius' version of events, the technicalities of comedy and mime, and how he has combined these elements into a literary version of the accession. The version Suetonius produces in *Gaius* and *Claudius* is described in the first section. Particular attention is paid to the sequence of events and exactly how Suetonius describes events.¹ This chapter is not a frivolous digression but part of the debate about Claudius, to make sense of the sources, and to see how Suetonius has produced a history in this specific case.

The short introduction to the development of Roman mime travels through comedy and the dramatic formats of the *fabula palliata* and the farce of the *fabula Atellana*; and looks at the broad appeal of mime across the strata of society, discussing mime as a recognisable vehicle to convey a message. The following section on the connections between the use of drama and history demonstrates the influence drama

¹ The later account found in Dio is only used for comparative purposes and only significant information is retained.

has had on the literary sources especially, in this case, on historians. There is a discussion of the *fabula praetexta* (the dramatic histories) and how Suetonius and Ovid might use them for example. A final and short consideration is given to the propaganda aspect which might benefit a sponsor of theatre, and how that could be positive for Nero and negative for Claudius.

The section on stage curtains and Roman mime is important in describing how they are used to create an environment that was right for the format, followed by a consideration of the *Hermæum* mentioned by Suetonius. This space has not been identified on the Palatine, and Suetonius describes it in similar terms to a backdrop for comedy – it is possible it is a literary space created for the comic accession scene described in Suet. *Claud.*X. The chain of events described in Cicero's defence speech, the *Pro Caelio*, is considered for similarities to Suetonius' version of the accession. A short biographical detail of Marcus Caelius Rufus outlines the complex relationships involved in this case. His former lover Clodia is attacked for low morals by Cicero, and for bringing a false prosecution based on jealousy. The mechanics of her plan to unmask the plot is the basis for the farce and allows the comparison to Suetonius' version of Claudius hiding. The character of Licinius, who is a dupe in hiding, is similar in many aspects to Claudius at the moment of discovery. A final section is a short overview of how comedy could be applied to the description of Claudius.

3.1. Suetonius: merely the bare bones of the accession?

If the interpretation found in *Antiquities* of the accession (as outlined in chapter 2) is a reasonable scenario, then it is remarkable that Suetonius devotes so little time and space to it in his *divus Claudius*. This chapter will explore the brief sketch Suetonius outlines, and that will set up the following interpretative passages. Suetonius may have been following a definite and rigid structure in producing the format of his

Lives, but more lines devoted to the accession would not change the format. Giving greater precedence to these events might have distorted the overall balance of his work, which might have changed the emphasis of the portrait he was trying to produce. It is possible, although unlikely, that he only used a single source, perhaps one from within the imperial library,² but that would not explain the terse and perfunctory handling of the material, only the differences in the sequence of events between his account and that of Josephus. Suetonius separates the murder of Gaius from the accession of Claudius, handling each within their respective *Lives*, and this removes the natural dynamic of the events resulting in a truncated form that is unlike the other sources. Treating Suetonius' account as continuous may convey an artificial construct by taking each account out of context, but the fabric of each is unchanged in content and therefore valid for this exercise.

Of lesser importance, but still relevant because of a problem in the account of Cassius Dio, is where there is a shift in the timeline of events, demonstrated by a conflict in the account of Dio reporting of 'soldiers' preventing looting and 'soldiers' looting. Dio is specific with the difference between the soldiers in the palace hailing Claudius *imperator*, αὐτοκράτωρ, and the Praetorians appointing Claudius *hegemon*, ἡγεμών. Josephus gives the same split terminology in the definition of leadership, and this may show the different units that were involved – Germans in the palace, Praetorians in the camp. The ambiguity of the identity of the soldiers in the palace may reflect the use of different sources not reconciled by Dio. The immediate acceptance of Claudius as a suitable candidate for *princeps* by the troops seems too convenient for keeping the account brief. The use of different sources may account for some disparities, and possibly the time discrepancies, but the significant problem is exactly who found Claudius in Dio? As a source for the accession, Dio is problematical, and maybe compromised by his sources through no fault of his own, but of the extant accounts it is the least revealing and will not be evaluated further, other than to act as a foil to Suetonius' version.

² For a discussion on the sources of Suetonius see A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius*², 1995, especially p.13-25, 62-96

The principal member of the conspirators who decided to assassinate Gaius at the *ludi Palatini* was Cassius Chaerea, who had been constantly taunted by Gaius with insinuations and accusations of effeminacy.³ The prodigies that foretold Gaius' murder included a lightning strike on the chamber of the *atriensis* (steward) on the Palatine which some interpreted as meaning that the threat would come from his *custodibus dominus*.⁴ Does this mean there was no threat from the *custodibus praetorium*?

Suetonius states that Gaius had hesitated going to have lunch at the seventh hour during the festival, as he had a stomach upset from the day before. He went down a covered passage (*crypta*) whereupon he came across a rehearsal of the boys from Asia;⁵ it is at this point that Suetonius gives two versions of events.

As Gaius spoke with the boys, Chaerea came up behind and slashed a deep cut into Gaius' neck, and the tribune Cornelius Sabinus plunged his sword into Gaius' chest. Suetonius states that Chaerea used a short sword, the *gladius*, in the murder; this does not corroborate the account of Josephus who elegantly identified the *spatha* with Chaerea.⁶ In the second version, Sabinus dispersed the crowd using *centuriones* who were part of the plot, and asked Gaius for the watchword. On receiving the name *Iovenis*, Sabinus split Gaius' jawbone with a blow from his sword (*ferrum*). The others joined in to silence Gaius who was calling for help, only to be answered by his litter bearers, followed by the *Germani corporis custodes* who killed several

³ Suet.*Gaius*.LVI.2; The very short account of Cassius Dio states that the plot was hatched by the military tribunes of the Praetorians Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus – the conspirators included Callistus and the ἑπαρχος of the Praetorians, δορυφορικῶν, although not stated as M.Arrecinus Clemens, Dio LIX.29.1.

⁴ Suet.*Gaius*.LVII.1-2. See R. I. Frank *Scholae palatinae : the palace guards of the later Roman Empire*, 1969.

⁵ In addition nearly all the men from the imperial court were in support, and if they were not involved then they kept their own counsel. Gaius was celebrating a festival in the palace, and Gaius left the theatre in order to see the boys summoned from Greece and Ionia, Dio.LIX.29.5-6.

⁶ Suet.*Gaius*.LVIII.2. Dio.LIX.29.7. reports that Gaius was killed in a passage, and his wife and child were promptly slain. Jos.*Ant*.XIX.85 describes Chaerea's sword as the ξίφος, large, sharp and double-edged. For the *spatha* see K.R.Dixon, P. Southern, *The Roman Cavalry*, 1997 p.48-49, fig 17 & plate 6 who give the dimensions as between 65-90cm long and 4-8cm wide.

assassins and some innocent victims.⁷ These two accounts alone show Suetonius used more than a single source. The corpse was taken to nearby gardens and partially cremated on a quickly built pyre and then buried beneath a turf mound, which gives no indication of the timescale nor who carried out the funeral ritual. Caesonia and her daughter were killed with Gaius; the weapon used was the *gladius* of a *centurio*,⁸ which could refer to Lupus or some other Praetorian with the conspirators, but Suetonius is not specific. The reports of Gaius' murder were not immediately believed, as some thought it was a trick to extract their true feelings about him, and while the conspirators had not agreed upon a successor, the consuls reconvened the Senate on the Capitol – this was a demonstration of a desire to re-establish the Republic.⁹

Having given the impression that there was a blueprint to reform a Republican administration, Suetonius writes that Claudius gains *imperium* through a *mirabilis casus*, namely the murder of Gaius and elevation by the Praetorians.¹⁰ The assassins closed out the crowd at the theatre as Gaius supposedly wanted to be alone, and Claudius was moved along with them from whence he withdrew to the *Hermaeum*. Soon after he hid on a balcony when he heard of the murder; but there is an inconsistency here as everyone else had doubted the initial reports, which may show up Claudius as being gullible and fearful. Claudius hid amongst the curtains in front of a door to the balcony, but one wonders if he could not have chosen a better hiding place. To be on the other side of the door might have exposed him on the balcony, and trying to hide behind curtains is neither enormously practical nor successful, especially as he was discovered by a *gregarius miles*, who happened to be wandering

⁷ Suet.*Gaius*.LVIII.3; following the murder, the Germanic corps rioted and quarrelled with the result that blood was spilt, Dio.LIX.301b; 'Quarrelling' may refer to relation between the Germans and the Romans at that point.

⁸ Suet.*Gaius*.LIX. the use of with/alongside, or with/at the same time as, referring to the two victims is not exactly clear and requires further consideration.

⁹ Suet.*Gaius*.LX; After the murder the consuls sent guards, the Urban Cohort, to all parts of the city, and convened the Senate, Dio LX.1.1. Suetonius *implies* the conspirators and senate were set on a Republic.

¹⁰ Suet.*Claud*.X.1; if Claudius' accession is taken to be through Fortune, then it means there should be questions over the identification of the deity or *genius* represented crowning Claudius on the *cistophori* from Ephesus, discussed in chapter 3. The orthodox identification is of Fortune.

through the palace.¹¹ To add to this ridiculous situation, the *miles* saw a pair of feet, and he dragged Claudius out:

*Latentem discurrens forte gregarius miles, animadversis pedibus, studio sciscitandi quisnam esset, adgnovit etractumque et prae metu ad genua sibi accidentem imperatorem salutavit.*¹²

‘As he cowered there, a common soldier, who was prowling about at random, saw his feet, and intending to ask who he was, pulled him out and recognised him; and when Claudius fell to his feet in terror, he hailed him as emperor’.

It is at this point that Claudius, on his knees and apprehensive, is acclaimed emperor, *imperatorem salutavit*, a rather ignominious and demeaning scenario. This version of the accession is in danger of becoming satire rather than a serious account, from the attempt at concealment to the acclaiming of an emperor where the positions of the participants are physically reversed; at this point and satire notwithstanding, one could argue that as a historian Suetonius is riding along the boundaries of credibility.

The soldier leads Claudius to his *commilitones*,¹³ who themselves were uncertain and angry.¹⁴ The *commilitones* carried Claudius, who was in despair and terror, *tristis et trepidus*, by litter to the camp. It is on this journey that the crowd took pity on him as he is described as looking like an innocent man on his way to execution.¹⁵ Suetonius has provided an account which makes a mockery of the accession, with Claudius

¹¹ Suet.*Claud.*X.2. See Appendix 2.2. during the assembly of the senate, some soldiers entered the palace with the intention of plundering, and it was then that they found Claudius in a dark corner, Dio LX.1.2. There is no distinction made here between either *Germani* or Praetorian soldiers by Dio, and it is further complicated by the specific reference at LIX.30.1b to the *Germani* in Joann.Antioch fr.84M (v.14-20) so there is no consistency in terminology. Dio may be following a source for Suetonius and this allows for his negative opinion of the Praetorians to surface by reporting their plundering; see Millar (1964) p.24 for their hostility towards Dio, and for his view of the dangers posed to the empire by the Pannonian legions and the ‘turbulence of the Praetorians’ Millar (1964) p.171.

¹² Suet.*Claud.*X.2, trans Rolfe; The soldiers drag Claudius out and on recognising who they have discovered, declare him *αὐτοκράτωρ*, then they conduct him to the camp, who entrust Claudius with the supreme power – *ἡγεμῶν*, because he was from the imperial family and he was regarded as suitable, Dio LX.1.3.

¹³ Exactly who the *commilitones* are in a military sense is unclear, but it probably refers to the Praetorians. For importance of the concept of *commilitones* see Campbell (1996) p.39-59.

¹⁴ In *Antiquities* it is the Praetorians who are unsure, and the *Germani* who are angry.

¹⁵ It is the Praetorians/ *σωματοφυλάκων* who were unhappy at Claudius being apparently being carried away for punishment *Ant.*221ff. Claudius is taken to the camp after the decisive vote of the soldiers *Ant.*XIX.223-7, and he is not reported as being in terror *after* XIX.221, when Gratus carried him. Suetonius writes that Claudius spent a nervous night in the Camp, waiting for developments, but that seems to be more apprehension than outright fear.

hiding behind a curtain in the palace, only being seen because his feet are sticking out from underneath, and the acclamation as *imperator* is originally by only a solitary guard, which is equally as ludicrous when one considers the political and constitutional issues at stake.

Suetonius writes *receptus intra vallum inter excubias militum pernoctavit, aliquanto minore spe quam fiducia*,¹⁶ and this was a result of the consuls and the urban cohorts taking the Forum and the Capitol with intention of *asserturi communem libertem*.¹⁷ The emphasis is now very different; Claudius' safety is assured but his future is not, and Suetonius plays down his position of strength. The senate summons Claudius, and his inability to comply is simply put down to his being detained within the walls of the camp, that is, he is unable to come by his own volition. The disagreements between senators prevented any of their plans being realised; because of the postponement of reaching any decision which allowed the *multitudo* to call for a single ruler, and to demand that it should be Claudius.¹⁸ The delays would only vitalise Claudius' powerbase, as more military personnel migrated to the camp during the night. The popular support of the citizens is really a sideshow at this instant, but this demonstrates that the populace had some idea who Claudius was and that he was not a forlorn figure. The armed soldiers who swore allegiance to Claudius (as he was already recognised as *imperator*, yet the citizens gathered in the senate wanted him as *a rector*) only add weight to the premise that he had known worth, although that has to be balanced with his promise of 15000 *sesterces* to the Praetorians. *Primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam praemio pignatus*¹⁹ is not strictly true as Tiberius gave the legions a donative on the anniversary of his accession; Augustus had set the pattern by giving the Praetorians a higher income than the legions, and higher than the well-rewarded urban cohorts.²⁰

¹⁶ Suet.*Claud.*X.3.

¹⁷ Suet.*Claud.*LX.3.

¹⁸ Suet.*Claud.*X.4.

¹⁹ Suet.*Claud.*X.4.

²⁰ Gaius released the 1,000 *sesterces* per man bequeathed to the Praetorians and donated a similar amount himself, Dio LIX.2.1, as well as paying the Urban Cohort, the night-watch, and the army in the Provinces Dio LIX.2.2-6. Barrett (1993) p.60 says Gaius was basically the first to realise the debt he owed the Praetorians for his position, and a special ceremony for awarding the gift is probably shown on a *sestertius* with the legend ADLOCUT(IO) COH(ORTUM) see Barrett pl.17 with Gaius on a *rostrum* addressing five Praetorians. *BMCRE* I Gaius 33-35 pl.28.3; and C.H.V.Sutherland, *The Emperor and the Coinage, Julio-Claudian Studies*, 1976 p.113 and pl.VII.97. Also see Caesar.*Alex.*48

According to Suetonius, the sequence of events and their relative importance warrants thirty lines of text; in four paragraphs, Claudius moves from private citizen to *princeps*, via the assassination of an emperor. Once firmly in power Claudius had the few tribunes and centurions punished for the conspiracy and for wanting to assassinate him. This could point to a reasonable fear of a threat of assassination before the *Germani* found him.

3.2a Comedy & Mime

Originally Roman comedy, the *fabula palliata*, was based on Greek outlines; the first native Roman comedy writer Naevius introduced political themes and attacks on the nobility, which ended badly for the playwright, and this warned those following to choose their themes carefully.²¹ The *fabula togata*, comedy in Roman clothing and a Roman situation, developed later as a reaction to the resultant artistic stagnation of the highly popular Greek-influenced *palliata* comedy, and the term can refer to all non-Greek comedy.²² There were later brief revivals of the genre in the late Republic and in Nero's reign.²³

The *fabula Atellana* that was a forerunner of the more Roman comedy of Plautus and Terence, originated in Campania and developed into a more formal version of farce,²⁴ which became one of the most popular dramatic forms until the end of the Roman Empire.²⁵ The themes were initially mainly rustic, with buffoonery and slapstick, although these changed as the Atellan farces began to overlap with the other comic genres. There were four stock characters, who wore masks for

where Q. Cassius Longinus promised soldiers 100 *sesterces* each; they stormed Medobrega, hailed him *imperator* and received the money.

²¹ W.Beare *The Roman Stage*³, 1964, p.128; G.E.Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy, A Study in Popular Entertainment*, 1971, for early Roman comedy p3-10.

²² Beare (1964) p.129. For a list of titles see p.129-31, and plot outlines p.132-5. R.C.Beacham *The Roman Theatre and its Audience*, 1991 p.128-9.

²³ Beare (1964) p.135.

²⁴ Beacham (1991) p.126, the genre petered out at the end of the second century BC.

²⁵ Beare (1964) p.137; Duckworth (1971) p.10;

identification: Maccus the buffoon and a clown, Bucco the glutton or boastful man who, in a physical allusion to stupidity, had characteristic large cheeks,²⁶ Pappus who was an old fool and easily deceived, and Dossennus the clever swindler.²⁷

Duckworth argues that this last character is needed to manipulate the other three more foolish ones, although there is no reason why all the characters cannot be foolish in a similar vein to the vaudeville act of the Three Stooges. No fragments have survived of these farces, so there is no evidence as to whether they were structured or improvised, although Duckworth points to a similarity with Punch and Judy shows, with known characters, masks and basic plot outlines of deceptions or love affairs to be filled out by improvisation.²⁸ Of the stock characters in the *Atellana*, at least three characters could apply to the literary portrayal of Claudius - Maccus, Bucco and Pappus - which is not to suggest that any mime used these characters but that the stereotypes would be well fixed by the time of Nero's reign, as Juvenal later writes of *Atellana* being performed as an *exodium*,²⁹ which may be similar in concept to a *mimus* when used as a theatrical filler at the end of a serious drama.

Hunter makes the point of the close relationship between mime and comedy, and that the *Chariton* mime provides an example of a recast plot such as of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* crossed with the vulgarity of farting in a mix of parody and drama.³⁰ The early 3rd century BC poems of Herodas are a cross-fertilisation of mime and Ionic poetry of Hipponax 'a cross forged by the literary-historical interests of the sophisticated poets of the Hellenistic period'.³¹ The forms of higher culture epic, tragedy and comedy were reformatted for the lower levels so the high moral ground

²⁶ Duckworth (1971) p.11, who discusses the etymology of Bucco, and the use of *buccones* by Plautus to mean 'stupid', with a similar meaning to *stulti*, *stolidi*, *fatui*, *figi*, *bardi*, *blenni*, words that could be applied to Claudius.

²⁷ Beare (1964) p.139ff. argues that it is unlikely to mean hunchback, and is not a Wise Fool because of any physical deformity.

²⁸ Duckworth (1971) p.12-3. R.C. Beacham *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome* 1999 p.10

²⁹ Beare (1964) p.142; Juv.*Sat.* 6.71, 'Urbicus in an Atellan farce, produces laughter by miming Autonoë', trans. Rudd; and Roman grammarians compared farce to a Greek satyr play that now included the 'burlesque of mythology', Beare (1964) p.142, and for literary *Atellana* see p.143-8. Tiberius tried to suppress the genre in AD22/3 because of indecency, and Petronius has Trimalchio choose the Atellan farce over his own players, Beacham (1991) p.128-129 n36, Juv.*Sat.* 3.174ff.

³⁰ R. Hunter "Acting Down" the ideology of Hellenistic performance' (2002) p.198.

³¹ Hunter (2002) p.199.

of New Comedy was transformed into a baser form of entertainment, where the new dramatic performances reflected changes in society as a whole.³²

There were two main dramatic forms in imperial Rome, the mime without masks, danced and sang and acted as a troupe, and pantomime with masks accompanied by a chorus or musical group.³³ The first public mime was late 3rd century BC, and its popularity increased over time, with well-known writers such as Laberius (106-43BC) who used the vocabulary of the lower orders, while pantomime was first recorded in Asia Minor in 75BC.³⁴

The main themes are myth caricatures, adultery and the historical mime *Laureolus*, with less clear accounts of a shipwreck mime and a stupid-king mime.³⁵ The latter may have a bearing on the portrayal of Claudius. The mime plot was either a longer *hypotheseis* with acts, or shorter *paignia* which is like a skit; mimes were placed between the acts of a drama or at the end of tragedy (the *exodia*) superseding Atellan farce in the mid 1st century BC.³⁶

Mimes were wide-ranging in content and could be simple mimicry of animal noises, or parodies of lawyers in court or even imitate Homeric battles, which on occasion could be a comic rendition by groups called *Homeristai*.³⁷ These were Hellenistic performers of Homeric epic at the populist end of the market, away from study and

³² Hunter (2002) p.199; for mimic elements in New Comedy and discussion of Cicero on *sannio* a clown or buffoon in mime see p.210ff; also that mime borrowed plots from Greek and Roman comedy, p.205.

³³ E. Caspo, W.J. Slater *The Context of Ancient Drama*, 1995, p369-70 and source no.23, 25.

³⁴ Caspo & Slater (1995) p.370 and sources 1,2,10,22,23A; F.H. Sandbach, *The Comic Theatre of Greece and Rome* 1977, p.116-7, and some cross-pollination between Laberius' works and comedy. For pantomime see E.Hall 'The singing actors of antiquity' 2002, p.27-30.

³⁵ Caspo & Slater (1995) p.371 and source 21, also there were unspecified stock folk themes.

³⁶ Caspo & Slater (1995) p.371 and sources 19-21; Sandbach (1977) p.116; Hunter (2002) p.196 states mime covered any dramatic form that was not tragedy, satyr drama or comedy.

³⁷ Caspo & Slater (1995) p.371 source 9, which dates *Homeristai* at least up to Caracalla's reign in AD212.

the elite – Hunter provides the example of Trimalchio's *Homeristai* performing a 'violent mimetic action'.³⁸

Mimes are especially associated with the *siparium*, a linen screen as a backdrop that is not the same as a stage curtain (the *aulaeum*), and the mimes acted in front of the *proscenium* arch with the *siparia* as the background.³⁹ The *siparia* hid the main scenery and well-known characters could appear or disappear quickly and easily, and the element of movement only added to the slapstick element of mimes.⁴⁰

The most primitive and the most permanent type of entertainment in Rome was mime, where their greatest skill was the art of gesture not the most basic mimicry of animals.⁴¹ The mime developed in Rome before the structured literary comedies, and Greek mime had an influence on the buffoonery, slapstick, song and dance in Rome. Mime was at first only connected to a festival such as the *Floralia* of 173BC,⁴² but later the mime could be put on at any time without needing any other reason. The mimes were hired for private parties by the rich citizens in the late Republic to entertain their guests,⁴³ and they provided a type of Variety Show where the key to mime was versatility in performance. This versatility meant the mime could be performed in the orchestra when the stage was being set for the next performance or, if onstage, they could use a small curtain to mark the performance area on the biggest

³⁸ Hunter (2002) p.196 for types of performers who cites late second century AD Athenaeus *Deipnosophistai* 14.620a-621f; Petron.*Sat.*59 describes the Homeric players acting out the battles between Trojans and Tarentines, mentioning figures such as Agamemnon and Achilles.

³⁹ Caspo & Slater (1995) p.371-2

⁴⁰ Caspo & Slater (1995) p.372 and sources 11-15

⁴¹ Beare (1964) p.149; the word *mimus* means to imitate and is used for actor and play – his barefeet *planipes* gave him away as he wore no *buskin* or the *socci* of comedy, Duckworth (1971) p.14, and n31. Pantomime was introduced in 22BC, and used mythological sources for themes but drawing on the dance from mime 'pantomime sought to present characterisation, emotion, and narrative entirely through the movements and gestures of the body, or parts of the body, of an individual who neither sang nor spoke', Beacham (1991) p.141, demonstrates the difference from much noisier mime.

⁴² Beacham (1991) p.129; Duckworth (1971) p.13-4; for extensive early history of mime see Beare (1964) p.149-51.

⁴³ Beacham (1991) p.129; for history of mime from second century BC to Augustus see p.129-35; Beare (1964) p.150-54.

of stages.⁴⁴ This freedom from performing on a stage means that some mime could be produced for a private audience.

In terms of content, the end of the Republic heralded a new boldness in mime,⁴⁵ and their popularity soared during the Empire: 'the general standard (which had always fluctuated considerably) appears now to have declined, as greater liberty was condoned in the choice and depiction of subject matter. Their very popularity may have encouraged presenters to take liberties: improvising to suit the mood of the crowd, pushing licence to its limits - and beyond'.⁴⁶ Mime had always been liable to be a rather tactless spectacle, and had a broad appeal across society, but being a *mimus* would be a precarious existence if you upset the emperor.⁴⁷ A mime produced during Nero's reign would be subject to the decline of artistic standards, and a broadside against the previous emperor in the light of the *Apocolocyntosis* would hardly be unacceptable to Nero. An attack in the vein of a visual piece of physical comedy would not be out of place, and would be unlikely to create repercussions for the playwright, or the troupe, if it was improvised at the *Saturnalia*.

Suetonius was aware of the concept of mime because he used the *mimus* on several occasions – *Jul.*39.2; *Aug.*53.1; *Tib.*24.1; *Gaius.*45.2, 57.4; *Nero.*4.1; *Dom.*15.3, and it seems entirely predictable that the Julio-Claudian missing would be Claudius.⁴⁸ Suetonius writes of Gaius' interest in performing in pantomime rather than mime, which had been restricted to private performance, as it was his intention to perform on stage in public on the day of the assassination.⁴⁹ Gaius had already performed in

⁴⁴ Beacham(1991) p.132.

⁴⁵ 'The Roman public was always quick to note inconvenient passages that could be construed to suggest parallels between stage tyrants (and their fates) and those that might be sitting in the audience', Beacham (1991) p.133; Republican examples cited are attacks on Pompey and Caesar, while in contrast Cicero cited mimes, Antony associated with them, and Octavian hired them - and later Tiberius see n28 above; p.135.

⁴⁶ Beacham (1991) p.136; see Catullus' *Laureolus*, a particularly brutal and popular mime, for other theatrical extremes see p.136-7; also for writers see T.P.Wiseman, *Historiography and Imagination* 1994 p.93-4, and for the vulgarity of mime p.150-1 n18.

⁴⁷ Beacham (1991) p.137, cites Doimitian executing the younger Helvidius Priscus because he wrote a mime that hinted at the emperor's divorce.

⁴⁸ Cicero also uses *mimus*, not only in *Pro Cael.*27; also *De Orat.*2.259, 242, 244, 251, 274; *Divin.*24.78. Tacitus *Ann.*1.73; *Hist.*3.62.

⁴⁹ Suet.*Gaius.*LIV; Dio 59.5.5, 29.6; J. Bellemore, 'Gaius the Pantomime' 1994 p.66-7 also discusses the different costume/clothes worn by Gaius at an performance on the Palatine, Suet.*Gaius*52, 54.

front of three consulars coerced into being an audience around midnight, and it was here that Gaius burst onstage in costume making a racket with flute *tibiarius* and a *scabella*, danced his piece and exited.⁵⁰ The *scabella* is either a cymbal or a wind instrument that is foot operated and may chart movement across a stage as well as keep time, and it is used to mark the end of a farce, as is specifically mentioned in the *Pro Caelio*. Suetonius places this performance in the text before the murder – *Gaius* LVIII relates the prodigies that foretold of Gaius' murder, the *Laureolus* farce was over-enthusiastic with blood and gore, and the nighttime performance of a show of Egyptian and Ethiopian aspects was rehearsing for that night,⁵¹ (although Josephus suggest these were mysteries to be performed by Gaius in his own honour).⁵²

Bellemore concludes that Suetonius' version implies Gaius played a number of the parts of gods in pantomime; while Josephus has misunderstood the role of costume in pantomime so missed that Gaius was a performer not a god; Philo in *Legatio ad Gaium* followed his own agenda, ignored the possibility of the emperor acting, and portrayed Gaius appearing as gods such as Apollo or Dionysus (which in fact would be the costumes of pantomime performances).⁵³ The imperial interest in the stage is concentrated on the performers Gaius and Nero, but there may be an influence of the stage on the writing of history of the early empire.

3.2b Dramatic history

This section will explore the use of drama and its connection to history, and how it could be sponsored or hijacked for political purposes. The knowledgeable Roman audience were a boon to an author because they intimately knew the themes and theatrical conventions, something the playwright could exploit, so there will be a brief examination of an example of drama being modified for historical accounts.

Also see *Jos.Ant.*XIX.30, 71 for stage clothes of Gaius. For discussion of Suetonius altering evidence to state Gaius talked to Jupiter in *Gaius*.XXII.4, see Bellemore (1994) n21.

⁵⁰ *Suet.Gaius*.LIV.2; Bellemore (1994) p.67.

⁵¹ *Suet.Gaius*.LVII.4.

⁵² *Jos.Ant.*XIX.104; Bellemore (1994) p.68-9.

⁵³ Bellemore (1994) p.70-1.

Of the two theories about the history of Rome, Niebuhr's idea that the traditions of Rome were formed through oral poetry seems less attractive than Ranke's 1849 proposal that the story of Romulus and Remus in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' history originated in a stage play.⁵⁴ Subsequent work provided evidence indicative of a genre of historical drama, the *fabula praetexta*.⁵⁵ This genre lasted from the third century BC to the late first century AD, and Horace relates its continuing importance at festivals;⁵⁶ and Wiseman outlines the detective work that followed identifying traces of *praetextae* in historical drama.⁵⁷

Flower summarily dismisses the concept of drama being used by historians: 'Such a line of approach is both risky and subjective. It is based on the desire to recover a lost genre, which modern scholars feel must or should have existed. It is tempting to imagine that the Romans would have encouraged a thriving national theatre on historical themes. Such a genre, it is argued, would have been influential in shaping the average Roman's view of past events and the treatment of famous episodes by later historians. The conclusions reached have virtually no basis in the ancient sources we actually have. The result is largely a fiction created by the scholarly imagination'.⁵⁸

In the case of the discovery of Claudius, the aim here is not recover a lost genre, or a lost sequence of events, but to establish how a genre can be used, which stands comparison to the more orthodox version of events in *Antiquities*. There may be a precedent for Suetonius using a dramatic or theatrical source to provide colour or extra information: the account of Caesar crossing the Rubicon is a well attested version of events, originally written by Asinius Pollio, cited by Plutarch and also by

⁵⁴ T.P. Wiseman *Roman Drama and Roman History*, 1998 p.1.

⁵⁵ Wiseman (1998) p.2-3 lists fifteen examples of known *fabulae praetextae*, from writers including Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius and Pomponius Secundus.

⁵⁶ Wiseman (1998) p.3 and n29, Hor. *Ars Poet.* 285-8.

⁵⁷ Wiseman (1998) p.5, see p.7 for the dramatic reconstruction of Livy I.46.4-9 on the plots and murders surrounding the Tarquins. An important idea was Boissier's, that contemporary drama created for a games, would have an influence on public opinion but were not recorded, so only a few *praetextae*, written by the best, would be quoted by later writers, hence the survival of titles and some phrases or fragments, p.5.

⁵⁸ H. Flower, 'Fabulae praetextae in Context: When were plays on contemporary subjects performed in Republican Rome?' 1995 p.170 ; Wiseman (1998) p.15.

Appian who uses the same version.⁵⁹ Suetonius uses the account up to a point, then diverges at *Iulius*.³² He then offers a different scene which 'is evidently *not* from Pollio'.⁶⁰ This leaves the influence of either a dramatic or a lost literary source that produced a version for a knowledgeable Roman audience who had a desire for topical material and would know the dramatic conventions.

Ovid used tragedy and some elements of farce in the *Fasti* to explain the founding of the cult of *Fortuna* by Servius Tullius;⁶¹ Wiseman identifies the aspect of a character being muffled to avoid recognition as in a mime, but makes the declaration: 'history as farce, history as tragedy. Ovid on Servius Tullius offers evidence for both'.⁶² This bears comparison to Claudius being muffled up against the cold, apparently for health reasons before becoming *princeps*, as well as having his head covered to avoid recognition when Mercury takes him to the underworld in the *Apocolocyntosis*.⁶³ There are two versions about Claudius here, an eyewitness account and a version alluding to farce.

Swain argues that Plutarch's *Life of Antony* is really a love story, and along with his parallel *Life of Demetrius*, both versions have been influenced by pantomime (a form that has links to the novel of which many are romances).⁶⁴ Plutarch's account of Demetrius has the elements required to be staged. Using Plutarch's work Swain outlines a theatrical proposal that Plutarch may have used regarding Stratonice to write part of Demetrius.⁶⁵ Although Antony has the themes of a love story, there is no claim it is a novel, but the aspect of visualising the emotional scenes between lovers has a dramatic resonance. The novel therefore, has elements of pantomime or

⁵⁹ Wiseman (1998) p.61.

⁶⁰ Wiseman (1998) p.61, also notes a different mood the infamous *iacta alea est*, and p.62 argues for a dramatic source because of theatrical details such as shepherds and soldiers, proposing a satyr-play; and links to the idyllic pastoral scene in Vergil's first *Eclogue*.

⁶¹ Wiseman (1998) p.30.

⁶² Wiseman (1998) p.34.

⁶³ See chapters 4 and 6 for discussion of the effects of cold and illness on Claudius.

⁶⁴ S.Swain 'Novel and Pantomime in Plutarch's *Antony*', 1992 p.76, gives examples of novels such as Heliodorus' *Ethiopica*. and the story of Demetrius' daughter Stratonice's love for Antigonos is in Plutarch, Appian, Lucian and Galen -it was also a pantomime favourite, p.77.

⁶⁵ Swain (1992) p.78.

mime, and in *Antony* 'where theatrical imagery is strong, love and theatre combine in the final death scenes of Antony and Cleopatra'.⁶⁶ Swain argues that the influence of theatre should not be rejected, and it is possible that his ideas of how to write the visual scenes of the lover's deaths may have been inspired by the staging in a pantomime, and that the romantic elements drew on the novel.⁶⁷

Beacham discusses the propaganda advantage that could be open to a benefactor of the arts, not only by building a theatre but by sponsoring drama, such as Pompey trying to redress his failing *dignitas* and fading prestige by acquiring a highly visible form of patronage.⁶⁸ The games Pompey held in 55BC to open his new theatre were to this end with staged drama and gladiatorial combat, music and athletic contests. These were only a partial success and the crowd were impressed but not always entertained by the dramatic spectacle,⁶⁹ which shows the dangers of relying on a popular appeal to the masses to bolster support. The theatre and a festival 'symbolized Roman prestige and imperial glory and were an important expression of the official ideology that justified, gave meaning to, and secured public support for the operation of the principate'.⁷⁰ Augustus did not want theatrical performances to weaken public morals and public behaviour, but he encouraged the growth of drama such as pantomimes because he recognised 'a useful medium both for mass entertainment and for embodying and popularising the classical mythology and traditional beliefs so central to the ideology of the principate'.⁷¹ Augustus' provision of entertainments and festivals had similar aims to Pompey, not only to bolster *auctoritas* and *dignitas*, but as 'a major and defining element in the evolving relationship between the *princeps* and his people'.⁷² Likewise Gaius poured money into theatre and games, even if he did raise games to extremes,⁷³ and Nero promoted

⁶⁶ Swain (1992) p.80-1.

⁶⁷ Swain (1992) p.81-2.

⁶⁸ Beacham (1999) p.62.

⁶⁹ Beacham (1999) p.64-5; cites Cicero as positive before, *Cic.In Piso*.65, and negative after, *Cic.Ad Fam*.7.1. A theatre allowed an increase in Pompey's prestige by providing a visually continuous "triumph", and was not just a physical site to display trophies but a place where celebration could be "stage-managed", p.62.

⁷⁰ Beacham (1999) p.128.

⁷¹ Beacham (1999) p.146; see *Res Gestae* 20-3 on Augustus' provision of spectacles and games.

⁷² Beacham (1999) p.146.

⁷³ *Suet.Gaius*. XV.2, XVIII-XX.; Beacham (1999) p.179-81.

a quinquennial contest, the *Neronia*, and took to the stage as a performer.⁷⁴ It is not impossible that a mime staged during a Neronian festival could lampoon the accession of Claudius; mime following serious drama was the norm. Beacham thinks that the Pisonian conspirators' plan to murder Nero on the final day of the *Cerealia* games had the ring of 'political theatre', which would mirror 'the tyrannicide-drama that characterised the deaths of Caesar and Caligula'.⁷⁵ Those sentenced by Nero in the whirlwind of retribution after the conspiracy were Seneca and Lucan, but even though the result was another bloodbath, the Roman people would probably be acutely aware of the dramatic parallels between the plots to murder Caesar and Gaius, so as the second *Neronia* approached there would be some apprehension in Rome.⁷⁶ A mime that was a parody of Claudius' accession would not look out of place here.

3.2c Curtains! Aulaeum & Siparium

Suetonius reproduces, or creates, a scene of Claudius' discovery,⁷⁷ where speech is actually superfluous, and one that can operate purely on a visual level. The scene creates a ridiculous accession of the *princeps*, a caricature that can work like a silent film. Yet another layer of ridicule can be added by the use of dialogue to mock Claudius, either by lampooning his stutter or underlining his fearfulness and stupidity; slapstick and verbal jests are two constituents of mime. The description of a curtain is important on two levels – one is to physically and literally separate the murder and the accession, and the other is to make the murder and then the accession seem ridiculous; a farce followed by a mime. It is here the allusion to the *Pro Caelio* becomes important.

⁷⁴ Suet.*Nero*.XII.3; for Nero and the arts, as patron and performer, see Beacham (1999) p.197-254.

⁷⁵ Beacham (1999) p.232-3.

⁷⁶ Beacham (1999) p.233 for the *Cerealia* and *Neronia* held after the executions.

⁷⁷ Suet.*Claud*.X.

The curtains used on stage acted as backdrops and essential boundary markers, but the painted backdrops also have importance for understanding the version of the accession in Suetonius. Latin plays were to be read as if created for a curtainless stage, and the curtain was not available during the play,⁷⁸ so objects have to be moved offstage out of the sight of the audience. The *auleaum* was introduced in 133BC, and Cicero explains in *Pro Caelio* 27: 'This is rather the end of a farce than a regular comedy; in which, when a regular end cannot be invented for it some one escapes out of some one else's hands, the whistle sounds, and the curtain drops'.⁷⁹ Therefore Cicero said the drop-curtain was introduced because of the lack of a dramatic structure or format of a farce; there was a need to end some plays with a mime. There were few new productions in the first century BC, but there was farce and revivals; painted scenery was introduced in 99BC,⁸⁰ and the drop-curtain would then be used for mime and drama. The *siparium* was not lowered or raised as demonstrated by the *siparium* post behind the scenes,⁸¹ but the scholiast on Juvenal wrote *siparium velum est sub quo latent paradoxi cum in scaenam prodeunt, aut ostium mimi*, where jesters hide behind the backdrop waiting to appear on cue.⁸² The curtains served mimes as a 'front curtain and back scene',⁸³ and actors 'stood behind it until each actor's turn came to appear, when he made his way through a parting in the middle of the curtain and so displayed himself to the audience'.⁸⁴

There is controversy over the question of sets on the Roman stage; early plays had no real scenery or curtains, but there are two main theories: either the actor's house was adapted to the needs of the performance, or a permanent building was covered up by sets or scenery.⁸⁵ The staging of interior scenes revolves around two arrangements –

⁷⁸ W Beare, *The Roman Stage*, 1950 p.259; also see 'The Roman Stage Curtain' *Hermathena* 58 p104-115.

⁷⁹ Cic.*Pro Cael.*27 trans C.D.Yonge, *mimi ergo iam exitus, non fabulae; in quo cum clausula non invenitur, fugit aliquis e manibus, dein scabilla concrepant, auleaum tollitur.*

⁸⁰ Beare (1950) p.260, cites Val.Max II.4, and for when *auleaum* was originally raised see p261ff. for discussion of Mazois and Fiechter's archaeology.

⁸¹ Beare (1950) p.262 who discusses the *siparium* and Cic.*De Pro Cons.*VI. talks of Piso being revealed from behind a *siparium*; also Sen.*Dial.*9.11.8; Juv.*Sat.*VIII.185

⁸² Beare (1950) p.262 cites Juv. *Sat.*VIII.185

⁸³ Beare (1950) p.262.

⁸⁴ Beare (1950) p.262 who also cites Diomedes stating that mimes set up their equipment in the *orchestra* to give a performance, but for Roman theatre it would be on stage.

⁸⁵ Beare (1950) p.267-276 and appendix F; Agathacus is claimed to have painted a scene first in the time of Aeschylus, and from the *Oresteia* there is a scene painted to represent a particular

thyromata where the scene is staged in the doorway or just inside; or a *prothyra* where it is played out in front of the house doors or inside an open porch.⁸⁶ In the *thyromata* the door is opened to display the interior scene although the problem is that if it is covered by scenery it is therefore not used as a door, which is a requirement of New Comedy.⁸⁷ In a *prothyra* the door is partly concealed, but in both cases they 'confine the actor in an enclosed space, where his movements must necessarily be less free, his gestures less visible and his words less audible than if he stood on an open stage'.⁸⁸ Yet intimate scenes work better within a building, and 'instances where one character is not seen by another are easier to understand if we suppose that the unseen character was concealed within a doorway or a projecting porch'.⁸⁹

Suetonius uses the word *velum* to denote the curtain that Claudius is hiding behind, one that describes a household curtain. However there may be another interpretation, as described by Plutarch who discussed the etymology of the Velabrum. This was an area between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, so-called either because of the ferry *velatura* used when the river flooded or 'some say that it is so-called because from that point on, the street leading to the Hippodrome from the forum is covered over with *sails* by the givers of a public spectacle, and the Roman word for sail is "velum."'.⁹⁰ Although it is an uncertain interpretation for Velabrum one can imagine sailcloth being hung up as drapes by acts at the games, and as Plutarch is writing as a contemporary of Suetonius c.100AD, the story may have been known to both authors.

Beare proposes that the *siparium* allowed for mime to act as 'an interlude between other performances (*embolium*) or on after a piece (*exodium*)',⁹¹ and regardless of

building/house/temple, p.268; for the introduction of the three actor rule and the use of scenery in Greek plays see p.268-70.

⁸⁶ Beare (1950) p271ff.

⁸⁷ Beare (1950) p271.

⁸⁸ Beare (1950) p271.

⁸⁹ Beare (1950) p.271. For entrance announcements, colloquial greetings or formal/heroic greetings see G.E.Duckworth *The Nature of Roman Comedy*², 1994 p.114-121, and for exaggerated farcical action, and comedic devices and situations see p.324-28.

⁹⁰ Plut.*Rom.*5 trans.Perrin.

⁹¹ Beare (1950) p.263.

how the *aulaeum* and *siparium* were used, both were in use in Cicero's and Juvenal's era respectively.⁹² Suetonius seems to be using a Ciceronian system that is not contemporary to his work - the context of the curtain is explained by Cicero in the *Pro Caelio*. Suetonius used the curtain as both *aulaeum* and *siparium*, as the signal for the end of a period, and a method of concealing the jester before his entrance; it may be the scenery for a mime between two sections of a Neronian drama.⁹³

3.3a The *Hermaeum*: an imaginary or a genuine space?

The *Hermaeum* is important because Suetonius is the only source to mention it. The use of an imaginary space may have relevance in reflecting the use of a theatrical space, a dramatic setting. Possible meanings of the name are set out, and the scant evidence available on the name itself is identified.

The *Hermaeum*, is the apartment that Claudius is supposed to hide beside, and there may be several possible allusions in the sources why he should be situated there. The balcony may have some similarity in terms of a geological headland, in that both are physical outcrops; there is a *Mercurii Promontorium* on Crete, on Sardinia and in Africa opposite Lilybaeum in Sicily, so it may refer to part of the annexe (*diaeta*) on a promontory from the palace or on the Palatine - and care is required about projecting geographical features on to architecture.⁹⁴

⁹² Beare (1950) p.263-5 discusses the use of *aulaeum* and *siparium* in conjunction, and the mechanics of using the *aulaeum* may have changed in the first century AD where the system seems to have been reversed from that used by Vergil, Ovid and Phaedrus and so it was tied up during performances and then lowered at the end; see Plut.*Sulla* 9; Juv.*Sat.*IV.22.

⁹³ Apuleius writes of an *aulaeum* and *siparium* being used to conceal the stage, where the *aulaeum* is raised and the *siparium* folded up to reveal the stage, therefore it is probable that the *siparia* hang in the wings, Beare (1950) p.266.

⁹⁴ *Hermaia akra*; www.perseus.tufts.edu 2/12/04. Polyb.1.29. for N.African *Mercurii Promontorium* now Cape Bon, Paus. 8.34.6, 35.2 ;; Ptolemy III.3, IV.5; Hdt.VII.183.3; for a *Hermaeum* at a boundary between *poleis* Messenia and Megalopolis and at Belemina Paus.8.35.3.

Suetonius describes the *Hermaeum* as a room (*diaeta*) on the Palatine, and this could be the same place as found on two inscriptions.

SYMPHORO
TESSERARIO
SER·CAESARIS
DE·DOMO· GELO
TIANA·FECIT
PHILOSDESPOTVS
SER·CAESARIS·
EX·HERMAEÓ
FRATRI·B·M

CIL vi.8663

PROTI TOPIARI
CINERES EX·HERMEO

CIL vi.9949

The inscriptions may refer to the same *Hermaeum* as Suetonius, and the evidence for CIL vi.8663 is stronger than for vi.9949 because the latter gives no indication of location.⁹⁵ Vegetius states ‘*Tesserarii* announce the *tessera* through soldiers’ 10-man sections. The *tessera* denoted the general’s order, by which the army is mobilized for some task, or for battle’.⁹⁶ Symphorus would pass on the orders to the *contubernia* if in the army although he may pass on the orders to different sections of household staff.⁹⁷ Symphorus served in the *Domus Gelotiana*, which was a house on the slope

⁹⁵ CIL vi.9949 cites the inscription was found in the Villa Alteria on the Esquiline, and cross-references to other *Topiarii*, landscape gardeners from the *familia Augusta*, vi.6369, 6370, 7300, 9082.

⁹⁶ Veg.*Mil.*2.7, trans N.P.Milner; and n2-4; Tac.*Hist.*1.25.

⁹⁷ See Frank (1969) for discussion of household duties.

of the Palatine hill incorporated into the palace by Gaius,⁹⁸ and of which there are some remains within the *Domus Augustiana*.⁹⁹ Philothespotus served in a *Hermæum* as part of the emperor's household, but there is no evidence of a connection between *domus Gelotiana* and the *Hermæum*, or that the latter was on the Palatine. There is no indication of a date for the inscription. This makes it difficult to pinpoint a location, or what type of building or space was involved, and the *Hermæum* may have been a room within another building. A *gymnasium* would have *Hermæum*, although Cicero writes of a *Hermathena* being placed in his Academy, which does not seem to be the same: *Quod ad me de Hermathena scribes per mihi gratum est. Est ornamentum Academiae proprium meae, quod et Hermes commune est omnium et Minerva singulare est insigne eius gymnasi*.¹⁰⁰

One should proceed with caution when following Barrett on the possible connection of the *Hermæum* to the *Aula Isiaca* of Isis on the Palatine, even though Gaius' interest in Egypt is shown before his death by the rehearsals for a performance of theatrical scenes from Egypt and Ethiopia.¹⁰¹

Alternatively, Suetonius' signalling of the *Hermæum* may allow the attributes of Hermes to be used to attack Claudius. Hermes was handsome and clean-limbed, he was also sure-footed and swift, and being the messenger of the gods. In addition Hermes was a thief, and his intelligence was evident by his cunning. Claudius had an imposing stature but was not clean-limbed, and walked with a limp (*non passibus aequis, unequal steps*),¹⁰² and he would not be able to run quickly, plus he was not

⁹⁸ Suet.*Gaius*.XVIII and www.perseus.edu 12/07/05.

⁹⁹ See CIL vi.8663, 8640, 8647-9.

¹⁰⁰ Cic.*Att*.9.3, 'I am grateful for what you say about the Hermathena. It's an appropriate ornament for my Academy, since Hermes is the common emblem of all such places and Minerva special to that one', trans Shackleton Bailey.

¹⁰¹ Suet.*Gaius*.LVII.4; Barrett (1993) p.173.

¹⁰² Sen.*Apoc*.1.2, see Eden (1984) p.66; Suet.*Claud*.XXX.

noted for his quick wit.¹⁰³ Having a stutter meant that in comparison Claudius would not make the best of messengers.¹⁰⁴

The grotesque in Attic Old Comedy has elements that may produce a thread running through the version of Claudius' accession in Suetonius.¹⁰⁵ Grotesques are ambiguous and can portray life and death, they have an 'oxymoronic misalliance',¹⁰⁶ and within a character they contained the *ludicrous* combined with the *serious*. The state could be dragged down by vulgar theatricals, and politicians or leaders could be criticised such as Cleon, Socrates, Alcibiades and Pericles were mocked by playwrights like Aristophanes, Eupolis and Cratinus.¹⁰⁷ There were therefore specific political attacks on individuals, and 'Old Comedy is not content to present the politician as silly, incompetent, or ludicrous; rather it insists that he is unqualified for the career to which he aspires. The political intent of the attack is clear'.¹⁰⁸ In Claudius' case the attack on him is not in the present but looks to the past to portray him in a bad light, but the inspiration for such a political attack in mime has a solid precedent.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Suet.*Claud.* 3.2, 15.4; and 38.3 where Suetonius states Claudius feigned stupidity; also see Dio 59.23.5, 60.2.4, and Hurley p.220.

¹⁰⁴ Also Hermes as god of culture, the patron of youth/young men, and the *gymnasium* where each contained a *Hermaeum* (see <http://www.csun.edu/~hcfl1004/hermes.html> 9/04/04) all things that are not associated readily with Claudius; in his capacity as Hermes *Psychopompos* who guided souls to the Underworld he appears as Mercury in *Apocolocyntosis* Sen.*Apoc.* 3.1, 5.2, 11.6, 12.1, 13.1; part of the myth of Hermes stealing Apollo's cattle involves the old caretaker Battos who had witnessed everything, and he of course spilled the beans to the disguised Hermes and was turned to stone as punishment <http://www.csun.edu/~hcfl1004/hermes.html> 9/04/04. Although too complex a subject to tackle here, Battos has a meaning of stutterer.

¹⁰⁵ A.T. Edwards 'Historicizing the Popular Grotesque: Bakhtin's *Rabelais* and Attic Old Comedy', 1993.

¹⁰⁶ Edwards (1993) p.90.

¹⁰⁷ Edwards (1993) p.90, for discussion of debasing of leaders through mockery, and the use of folk humour and theories including Bakhtin's on the grotesque used in attacks against the state see p.91-4.

¹⁰⁸ Edwards (1993) p.97 cites W.R. Connor

¹⁰⁹ The earlier existence of grotesques in the Italian farces, mimes, satyr plays and Attic comedy as the forerunners is recognised by Bakhtin and Edwards (1993) p.94. Also see p.99-100 for comic portrayal of a politically inverted Athens where it is run by slaves in a city of slaves, *topos*, and the concept of a state where those most fit to be ruled were in fact the rulers. This may have a resonance for Claudius being seen as unfit to rule in the sources.

The name *Hermaeum* may reflect nothing more than an attack on Claudius' faculties, in that he would hide in the one place that alluded to all the problems he had - it stated in code that Hermes represented all the things Claudius was not. This depends on the source it was taken from, and when it was produced. If produced in the reign of Nero it would be hostile to Claudius.

The opening scene of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* is on Lemnos, possibly near Cape Hermaeum, and having been crippled by a snake bite, 'his foot diseased and eaten away with ruining ulcers',¹¹⁰ and because of complaining of the pain, Philoctetes was abandoned on the island as the Achaeans sailed for Troy. Claudius had similar afflictions in gait and complained of acute pain in the stomach.¹¹¹ Philoctetes had been injured because of the anger of the gods, and was then needed as the man who would capture Troy with his bow, and the Achaeans want him back as the gods will now heal him. 'In the *Philoctetes* Sophocles expresses what it feels like to be man so isolated, so impersonally, so instrumentally used by his fellows'.¹¹² When Philoctetes is made the final offer of healing if he helps the Greeks he has been hurt enough and does not want to expose himself to more pain, and it is better to keep with an old pain that he can manage than open up new problems.¹¹³ Philoctetes' fear and reluctance of change is mirrored by Claudius' fear behind the curtain. Philoctetes, like Claudius, also encountered Hercules, but here the god would send Asclepius to heal the sickness if he went to Troy.¹¹⁴ In his final speech, Philoctetes mentions his echo being returned by Ἑρμαῖον ὄρος – the mountains at cape Hermes.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Soph.*Phil.* 1-10 trans. Grene

¹¹¹ Suet.*Claud.* XXXI and see discussion later in chapters 4 and 6.

¹¹² D. Grene *Sophocles II*, 1957 p.191.

¹¹³ Grene (1957) p.192.

¹¹⁴ Soph.*Phil.* 1438.

¹¹⁵ Soph.*Phil.* 1459ff., see T.B.L. Webster *Sophocles Philoctetes*, 1970 p.159 also Aesch. *Ag.* 283, also see J.C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles, Commentaries IV: The Philoctetes*, 1980 p.194 mentions Ἑρμαῖον λέπας for the *Agamemnon*.

Hephaistus had been ejected from Olympus by his mother Hera because of her shame at his lameness, and on his eventual restoration,¹¹⁶ or because of an argument between Hera and Zeus who threw Hephaistus from Olympus, this time he landed on Lemnos and the landing broke both his legs.¹¹⁷ The limping blacksmith was a figure of fun for the gods: 'But among the blessed immortals uncontrollable laughter went up as they saw Hephaistus bustling about the palace',¹¹⁸ the use of "bustling" denotes lameness, and that Hephaistus is playing the fool because he is serving the wine to the assembled gods, a job that is which is usually reserved for the handsome Ganymede.¹¹⁹ Therefore, Suetonius provides a parallel between Hermes/Claudius and Ganymede/Hephaistus where there can be similar pejorative and sniping comparisons within each pair of figures.

There is epigraphic evidence of a *Hermaeum* without denoting what the name refers to, and there is literary evidence that it was used to name a headland or promontory since Herodotus, and that it had links to myth. The point is that regardless of the existence of a real space on the Palatine, using the name had many flags for an audience connecting Claudius to Hephaistus or Philoctetes, and through his dialogue with Hercules, to Claudius and the *Apocolocyntosis*. Therefore, in some respects whether the *Hermaeum* is real is inconsequential because the aim would be to make a connection of ridicule, fear and stupidity allows parallels to similar characteristics, and contrasts Claudius to the attributes he is not which creates a type of 'Claudius/not-Claudius' model.

Vitruvius 5.6.8-9 gives a description of stage curtains and stage architecture. There are similarities between backdrops depicting private houses, balconies and views

¹¹⁶ *Iliad*.XVIII.391-409, lines 410-11 describes Hephaistus 'He spoke, and took the huge blower off from the block from the anvil limping; and yet his shrunken legs moved lightly beneath him' trans. R.Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1951

¹¹⁷ *Iliad*.I.586-94; see P.Jones *Homer's Iliad: A commentary on three translations*, Bristol Classical Press, Bristol 2003 p.63-4 for Hephaistus calming the quarrel between Zeus and Hera.

¹¹⁸ *Iliad*.I.599-600.

¹¹⁹ Jones (2003) p.64.

representing rows of windows, and Suetonius' scene describing the *Hermaeum* (see fig. 3.1):

5.6.8. *Ipsae autem scaenae suas habent rationes explicitas ita, uti mediae valvae ornatus habeant aulae regiae, dextra ac sinistra hospitalia, secundum autem spatia ad ornatus comparata, quae loca Graeci periactus dicunt ab eo, quod machinae sunt in his locis versatiles trigonos habentes singula tres species ornationis, quae, cum aut fabularum mutationes sunt futurae seu deorum adventus, cum tonitribus repentinis ea versentur mutantque speciem ornationis in frontes. secundum ea loca versurae sunt procurentes, quae efficiunt una a foro, altera a peregre aditus in scaenam.*

9. *Genera autem sunt scaenarum tria: unum quod dicitur tragicum, alterum comicum, tertium satyricum. horum autem ornatus sunt inter se dissimili disparique ratione, quod tragicarum deformantur columnis et fastigiis et signis reliquisque regalibus rebus; comicae autem aedificiorum privatorum et maenianorum habent speciem prospectusque fenestris dispositos imitatione, communium aedificiorum rationibus; satyricae vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus reliquisque agrestibus rebus in topeodi speciem deformati.*

5.6.8. 'The *scaena* itself displays the following scheme. In the centre are double doors decorated like those of a royal palace. At the right and left are the doors of the guest chambers. Beyond are spaces provided for decoration- places that the Greeks call *periaktoi*, because in these places are triangular pieces of machinery which revolve, each having three decorated faces. When the play is to be changed, or when gods enter to the accompaniment of sudden claps of thunder, these may be revolved and present a face differently decorated. Beyond these places are the projecting wings which afford entrances to the stage, one from the forum, the other from abroad.

9. There are three kinds of scenes; one called the tragic, second, the comic, third, the satyric. Their decorations are different and unlike each other in scheme. Tragic scenes are delineated with columns, pediments, statues, and other objects suited to kings; comic scenes exhibit private dwellings, with balconies and views representing rows of windows, after the manner of ordinary dwellings; satyric scenes are decorated with trees, caverns, mountains, and other rustic objects delineated in landscape style'.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Vitruvius Pollio, *The Ten Books on Architecture* 1999 (online ed. Morris Hicky Morgan).

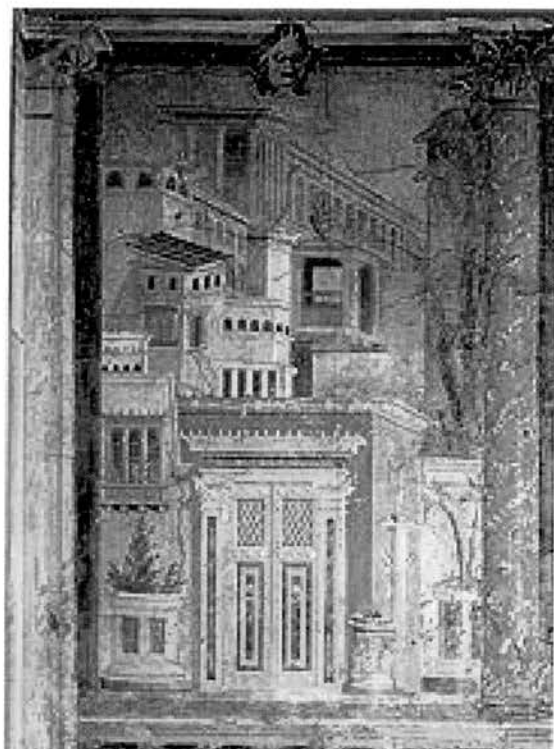


Fig 3.1 The inspiration for the literary *Hermaeum*? A Theatrical Backdrop from a 1st century BC painting in the Villa of P.Fannius Sinister at Boscoreale.¹²¹

The theatrical backdrop in fig.3.1 shows striking similarities to the description in Suetonius of where the discovery of Claudius took place. If one adds the discussion of Vitruvius on *scaena* then it becomes plausible that the *Hermaeum* in Suetonius' version was a literary confection drawing on visual elements from the theatre. The name is unimportant, what is important is that the description of its location (genuine or false) bears the hallmarks of a backdrop for comedy, and if it is coincidental then it is fortuitous for the author of the theatrical performance. If the *Hermaeum* was part

¹²¹ Beacham (1990) fig.24 p.179. In addition R.Beacham, 'Postlude: Stage Setting and Space', 2001, has reconstructions of stages and sets using wall paintings and pottery, by using 3D computer modelling. Beacham has 'extracted' architectural features, for example 'The House of the Vetii at Pompeii has a painting that strongly suggests the structure of a temporary stage, with a central doorway or aedicule, and two flanking doorways with figures ascending steps', which is similar to the Room of the Masks in the House of Augustus and a wall painting from the Villa of Oplontis. Suetonius would be familiar with the House of Augustus, and therefore probably with the wall paintings. <http://didaskalia.open.ac.uk/issues/vol5no1/Beacham/Postlude.html> 23/12/04; photograph from www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/viewone.asp?dep=13&viewmode=0&item=03.14.13a-g, 23/12/04.

of a *gymnasium* and a space for *herms* and statues then one has to question the lack of a description in the sources, and later Dio does not pick it up at all.

3.3b Cicero, Catullus, Claudius and *A Night at the Opera*

The mechanics of Suetonius' account are discussed here in terms of the structure of mime and farce, and looked at in relation to the influence of Cicero's *Pro Caelio*. An outline of Caelius' complex political relationships forms the backdrop to the case, and a comparison is made between the actions of Licinius and Claudius to highlight the dramatic or theatrical similarities.

For Josephus, Suetonius and Dio the murder of Gaius is the first of the three main events surrounding the accession of Claudius; the second is the discovery of Claudius by a military figure, and the third is his acclamation as *princeps* by the Praetorians. In this tripartite structure the act of discovery acts as either the central event, or a boundary marker between the murder and the acclamation. If the recording of the event of discovery is acting only as a boundary then it does not, and cannot, alter the previous or subsequent event. How the act of discovery occurs has no impact on the next event – the act of discovery has an effect in that it allows the acclamation, but exactly how Claudius was discovered is immaterial to the acclamation proceeding. The episode functions only as a demarcation line and there is a similar device separating two sections in Cicero *Pro Caelio*.²⁸ which has a direct bearing on the interpretation of Suet. *Claud.*X, rather than the versions of the accession in Josephus and Dio.

Per haec ac talia maxima aetatis parte transacta quinquagesimo anno imperium cepit quantumvis mirabili casu. exclusus inter ceteros ab insidiatoribus Gai, cum quasi secretum eo desiderante turbam submouerent, in diaetam, cui nomen est Hermaeum, recesserat; neque multo post rumore caedis exterritus prorepsit ad solarium proximum interque praetenta foribus uela se abdidit. latentem discurrens forte gregarius miles, animaduersis pedibus, studio sciscitandi quisnam esset, adgnouit extractumque et prae metu ad genua sibi accidentem imperatorem salutavit.

‘Having spent the greater part of his life under these and like circumstances, he became emperor in his fiftieth year by a remarkable freak of fortune. When the assassins of Gaius shut out the crowd under pretence that the emperor wished to be alone, Claudius was ousted with the rest and withdrew to an apartment (*diaetam*) called the *Hermaeum*; and a little later, in great terror at the news of the murder, he stole away to a balcony (*solarium*) hard by and hid among the curtains (*vela*) which hung before the door. As he cowered there, a common soldier, who was prowling about at random, saw his feet, and intending to ask who he was, pulled him out and recognised him; and when Claudius fell at his feet in terror, he hailed him as emperor.’¹²²

The proposal of this chapter is that Suetonius sets up the scene to operate in a similar fashion to a mime,¹²³ and a parallel to the structural model set out by the *Pro Caelio*. The curtain, although a *velum* and not the theatrical *siparia* or *auleum*, is used to cover a door, which is very similar to the *siparia* which is used on stage to cover an entrance.¹²⁴ Claudius is introduced behind the curtain so he is not present at the opening of the scene.¹²⁵ Curtains mark the boundary between the murder of Gaius

¹²² Suet.*Claud.*X.1-2 trans. J.C.Rolfe Suetonius *Divus Claudius*, also see <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Suetonius>. 31/03/04. *Diaeta* can also be an annexe to the main household which would be more appropriate for the *Hermaeum* – it seems unlikely that a living-room would have such a title. The *solarium* can be either a balcony or a terrace, Suet.*Nero*.16.1; Plaut.*Mil*.340; CIL VI.10234.3, and *velum* is a curtain used to screen a doorway, Sen.*Ep*.80.1; Plin.*Ep*.4.19.3; Juv.*Sat*.VI.228; Sen.*Suas*.6.18; Mart.11.98.11; see Oxford Latin Dictionary for entries.

¹²³ Roman *Mimus* was improvised play whose principal function was to make an audience laugh, played in front of the *siparium*, Juv.*Sat*.VIII.185; Sen.*Tranq*.11. The principal actor *mimus* played along with a buffoon a *stupidus* or *parasitus*, with grotesque dancing, extravagant laughter, obscene jokes and slapstick humour see Juv.*Sat*.VIII.189; Suet.*Gaius*.57. See *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* ed W Smith, W Wayte, G.E Marindin, 1890/8 in www.perseus.tufts.edu 16/04/04, for full history and mime references cited. Smith, Wayte & Marindin outline the subjects and authors of mimes, and of relevance are those of a sudden change of fortune from beggar to riches – Cic.*Phil*.2.2.7,65, or parodies of contemporaries, character plays, or those people that captured the public imagination (such as Juv.*Sat*.VIII.187 the career of Laureolus); the imperial writers cited are Catullus, Lentulus, Hostilius, Aemilius Severianus and Philistion.

¹²⁴ Vitruvius 5.6.8.

¹²⁵ For conventional entrances in New Comedy where an entrance is to a stage already occupied by another character who is skulking around in the background see D.Bain *Actors and Audience; A study of asides and related Conventions in Greek Drama*, 1977 p.135ff. and cites, ‘Woe is me! Again there is someone here standing at our door’, Men.*Dysc*.153. For asides and situations such as characters

and the accession of Claudius, and operate in a similar fashion to the *scaena* in the *pro Caelio*, and it brings an abrupt end to the violence, chaos and death after the murder of the *princeps*. It is the end of the farcical and chaotic scene on the Palatine where nothing has gone to plan for the conspirators except that Gaius has been murdered, which will be discussed in the next section on Roman Comedy and mime.

A discussion of Cicero's speech will draw out the parallels not in terms of events but in the drama and farce of events, and how the author of the 'accession play' has adapted events to fit the needs of the theatrical structure. Cicero compares the events in Caelius' case to being like a farce, and the accession mime probably being performed onstage would reflect similar dramatic qualities. The *Pro Caelio* is a speech where Cicero defended Marcus Caelius Rufus (87-48BC) who was accused of trying to poison Clodia, the sister of Cicero's nemesis, Clodius.¹²⁶ Caelius was an equestrian whose family had estates in Africa that exported corn to Rome; he had as mentors Marcus Licinius Crassus and the defence lawyer Marcus Tullius Cicero following them from post to post, up to censor and praetor.¹²⁷ Caelius left Cicero to join his great rival for the consulship, Catiline,¹²⁸ but soon returned to prosecute Cicero's colleague in 63BC, C. Antonius, the man who sent Catiline's head to Rome;¹²⁹ this created a splash of publicity which was consequently a disaster for Cicero. As a result of the trial of Antonius, Caesar and Pompey allowed Publius Clodius to transfer to the *plebs*, which meant he could be elected tribune,¹³⁰ and was therefore able to launch attacks on Cicero with impunity. Caelius had moved into a house owned by Clodius, and had designs on Clodia - Caelius had arrived as a serious player with good connections.¹³¹ These thorny relationships would come to a head in the complex events that encircled Caelius' prosecution in 56BC,¹³² in which he was charged with political violence (*vis*),¹³³ accused of being involved in the

bursting out of doorways, or pretending not to notice other characters onstage in Roman Comedy p.154-84.

¹²⁶ Cic.*Pro Caelio* trans. R.Gardner, 1958.

¹²⁷ T.P.Wiseman *Catullus and his World, A Reappraisal*, 1985 p.62 and n41-45 for Cic.*Pro Cael*.3,5,9,73.

¹²⁸ Cic.*Pro Cael* 7.

¹²⁹ Cic.*Pro Cael* 31ff.

¹³⁰ Wiseman (1985) p.64 and n53-4.

¹³¹ Wiseman (1985) p.65.

¹³² See Wiseman (1985) p.65-8 and n62-74 for an analysis. Also Gardner in Cic.*Pro Cael* p.509-21 discusses the plot and structure of the speech.

¹³³ Cic.*Pro Cael* 1, 29; Wiseman (1985) p.68 and n75.

murder of the envoys from Alexandria who opposed the restoration of Ptolemy XII, of being involved in murdering the envoy Dio in 57BC,¹³⁴ and fomenting a riot in Naples.¹³⁵ It was the rumour of working for Ptolemy and by default for Pompey that led Clodius to finish the political relationship with Caelius - Clodia then followed suit.¹³⁶ Caelius was in trouble because his prosecutors were aided by the powerful *Claudii*,¹³⁷ and he turned to the people who initially were least likely to welcome him with open arms, Crassus and Cicero.¹³⁸ His defence was based on attacking Clodia for plotting revenge on Caelius for having had an affair with her - Caelius was a brilliant orator, but Cicero demolished the prosecution in his opening pitch, on imaginary crimes and a prosecution fuelled by rejected passion.¹³⁹ Cicero set about a character assassination of Clodia's morals and behaviour comparing her to a Medea of the Palatine,¹⁴⁰ and then tackled the accusations of murder and insurrection calling them slanders, while reducing the case to 'two charges, one about some gold, one about some poison, in which one and the same person is involved'.¹⁴¹ Cicero proved by sleight of hand that Caelius was morally in the clear, unlike Clodia whose reputation was smeared as a whore, but the arguments about the poison bear more on the study of Claudius.¹⁴² Caelius was supposed to have bought a slave to try out the poison, not only this but Clodia's husband Q. Metellus Celer was alleged to have died, in a nice twist, by her hand from poison.¹⁴³ The poison for Clodia was given into the safe keeping of Publius Licinius, a friend of Caelius, and arrangements were made for Licinius to meet Clodia's slaves at the Senian Baths where he would hand over the box of poison.¹⁴⁴ Cicero questioned why the subterfuge if the affair was still in full swing but the slaves revealed the plot and Clodia decided to snare Licinius, having some friends jump out and catch him in the act of delivering the poison.¹⁴⁵ What happened was the friends in question "blew their cover" and jumped out too

¹³⁴ Dio was murdered by P. Asicius on the orders of Ptolemy, *Cic.Pro Cael* 8 note f, 10 note d.

¹³⁵ Wiseman (1985) p.68.

¹³⁶ Wiseman (1985) p.67.

¹³⁷ Wiseman (1985) p.67-8 explains the political connections.

¹³⁸ Unpopular because of his association with Catiline and Clodius, and the prosecutors were L.Sempronius Atratinus (son of L.Calpurnius Bestia prosecuted by Caelius for electoral bribery) and a P.Clodius. For explanation of the prosecution case see Wiseman (1985) p.69-74.

¹³⁹ *Cic.Pro Cael*.1.

¹⁴⁰ *Cic.Pro Cael*.8, 'Medea, sick at heart, wounded by cruel love', trans. Gardner quoted from Ennius, see Gardner note a.

¹⁴¹ *Cic.Pro Cael*.13. trans. Gardner.

¹⁴² *Cic.Pro Cael*.24-5.

¹⁴³ *Cic.Pro Cael*.24.

¹⁴⁴ *Cic.Pro Cael*.25.

¹⁴⁵ *Cic.Pro Cael*.25.

early claiming Licinius had handed over the box when he had not yet done so;¹⁴⁶ and for some inexplicable reason they also allowed Licinius to escape capture which weakened their case considerably and made them look ridiculous. Cicero speaks of Clodia composing other scenarios like this, ‘for example: the whole of this little play by a poetess of experience who had already composed many others - how devoid it is of plot, how utterly it fails to find an ending’.¹⁴⁷ It is at this juncture that Cicero makes the point that there was no apt ending organised by Clodia, the author of the plan; only the drawing of a veil over proceedings would bring the chaos to a close. The metaphorical veil was in fact the abrupt ending of the drop-curtain, the *aulaeum*, discussed below.

Suetonius carefully describes a stage set for comedy for the reader, there is a balcony, door and windows.¹⁴⁸ One can ask whether Suetonius is using the *Pro Caelio* as a template, a well-worn one at that – Clodia is compared to Medea, but could Messalina be compared to Clodia? Messalina was already married to Claudius in AD41, and she is not mentioned by the sources in the plot to murder Gaius, or on the accession of Claudius. The accusations against Messalina once Claudius is *princeps* bear similarities to the accusations against Clodia levelled by Cicero. Messalina was known for her sexual exploits,¹⁴⁹ and Clodia’s blackened reputation would bear striking similarities for a Roman audience to the political shenanigans of Messalina and Silius that resulted in her execution;¹⁵⁰ Claudius may be compared to the weak and ineffectual Licinius, but it is difficult to reconstruct the players in the murder of Gaius with those involved with Caelius, Clodia and Licinius unless Caelius can be compared to Chaerea. Suetonius may be book-ending the *Apocolocyntosis*, where he recreates a satirical tableau, a cartoon accession to balance Seneca’s skit on *apotheosis*; the result is that two critical events become ridiculous transformations.

¹⁴⁶ Cic.*Pro Cael.*26.

¹⁴⁷ Cic.*Pro Cael.*27, Cicero uses the word *fabula*, see note *a*, for meaning a play, referring to tricks, or stories about her.

¹⁴⁸ See fig.3.1.

¹⁴⁹ Tac.*Ann.*XXXI; Juv.*Sat.*6.115-32, 10.56-107; see G.G.Fagan, ‘Messalina’s Folly’, 2002 p.571-5.

¹⁵⁰ Tac.*Ann.*XXVI-XXXII; Suet.*Claud.*XXIX; Juv.*Sat.*10.329-45.

Mimi ergo iam exitus, non fabulae; in quo cum clausula non invenitur, fugit aliquis e manibus, dein scabilla concrepant, aulaeum tollitur.

‘So, then, we have the finale of a mime, not of a proper play; the sort of thing where, when no fit ending can be found, someone escapes from someone’s clutches, off go the clappers, and we get the curtain.’

These two sections run consecutively, and the gap between them in this text represents the demarcation of the curtain between one section and the other, in terms of Cicero’s allusion and Suetonius’ later mime version.

*Quaero enim cur Licinium titubantem, haesitantem, cedentem, fugere conantem mulieraria manus ista de manibus emiserit, cur non comprehenderit, cur non ipsius confessione, multorum oculis, facinoris denique voce tanti sceleris crimen expresserint. An timebant ne tot unum, valentes imbecillum, alacres perterritum superare non possent?*¹⁵¹

‘Why was it, I ask, that when Licinius was faltering, retreating, striving to escape, those warriors under their feminine orders allowed him to give them the slip? Why did they not seize him, why did they not on his own confession, in the sight of so many witnesses, and by the cry of the deed, firmly model a charge of an outrageous crime? Perhaps they were afraid that so many of them could not overpower a single man, they strong and he weak, they alert and he terrified?’

The particular significance is that Suetonius is using the same chain of events for the first part. Following the farce of the assassination, which goes completely awry, one could imply that the conspirators and Praetorians missed Claudius, and as he was still alive the game was up. It was all over. The curtain falls on the initial episode.¹⁵²

In Suetonius, Claudius has slipped through Chaerea’s net, and similarly the stuttering Licinius escaped capture. Although the theatrical inference may be that Claudius was involved there is no evidence of that, and it is more likely that Claudius also escaped being framed for the murder by Chaerea and his supporters, because although the

¹⁵¹ Cic.*Pro Cael.*27-8 M.Tulli Ciceronis *Pro M. Caelio*³ ed. R.G. Austin, 1960; *Cicero The Speeches - Pro Caelio*, trans R. Gardener, 1958.

¹⁵² In a nice juxtaposition of ideas about curtains and drama being visible, ‘I didn’t like the play, but then I saw it under adverse conditions – the curtain was up’, Groucho Marx, *Animal Crackers* 1930.

Praetorians failed to find him the *Germani* did which prevented a false accusation. Suetonius tells us that Claudius was an innocent bystander, much as the unwitting courier Licinius was. In addition, both men were described as having correspondingly spineless characteristics when discovered. There is a coincidence that the governor of Lugdunum when Claudius was born was a freedman, Licinus, and the parallel with being born under a freedman may have been used a circular construction; this would reinforce the idea and remind the audience of Claudius being controlled by freedmen when *princeps*.¹⁵³

The Ciceronian *aulaeum* is replaced by Suetonius using *vela* for curtain, which may prevent history being read as comedy or farce, but Suetonius does set the scene up by closing the double doors of the palace, as would happen for a scene change on stage.¹⁵⁴ The scene of Claudius at the soldier's feet then being acclaimed by a *miles* is played out in front of the curtain exactly as a mime would be performed; Claudius has been pulled out from behind the curtain so he is no longer waiting to make his entrance on stage. The use of *titubantem* is recalled by Suet.*Claud.*XXX and *titubantia* (stuttered) connects Claudius to Licinius, and in the reverse direction the stuttering fearful Licinius becomes mapped on to the figure of the *princeps*.

Suetonius also states the farce that has just ended before the 'accession mime' by recording that 'in a farce called *Laureolus*, in which the chief actor falls as he is making his escape and vomits blood, several understudies so vied with one another in giving evidence of their proficiency that the stage swam in blood'.¹⁵⁵ If one compares this to the murder, where the second version in Suetonius has Gaius

¹⁵³ Licinus, born in Gaul, a POW and a slave of Julius Caesar who gave him his freedom, and appointed in 15BC to be Governor of Gaul by Augustus – exploited his native land to amass enormous wealth and donate funds to the *Basilica Julia* to ingratiate himself with the *princeps*. Licinus died in reign of Tiberius see Suet.*Aug.*67; Juv.*Sat.*I.109; Persius. *Sat.*2.36; Sen.*Ep.* 19.10; 120.20. all references in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, ed. W. Smith, 1862. Licinus is a rich freedman who governed Lugdunum, Claudius' birthplace in 10BC, and he is well known enough to be mentioned in satire by such as Persius, Juvenal, and Martial, so a likely candidate to be reproduced in a mime; the similarity in the name to the dupe in the *Pro Caelio* is probably an opportune coincidence for Suetonius, as Claudius ended up a slave in *Apocolocyntosis*, so there is a parallel, or an inverse parallel.

¹⁵⁴ Suet.*Claud.*X; Vitruvius 5.6.8; Beacham (1990) p.117-153 examines Tragedy, mime and pantomime; p.177ff. discusses the *scaena* and its different forms.

¹⁵⁵ Suet.*Gaius.*LVII.4; note d cites Juv.*Sat.*8.186; Barrett p.163 on the Catullan farce at the *ludi palatini*; Beacham (1991) p.136.

writhing on the floor after the first strike from Sabinus, only to be dispatched with thirty blows – this would result in a fair amount of blood on the floor, followed by the litter bearers, bravely taking on the assassins with carriage poles, only to be followed by the *Germani* running amok. Therefore there are two ways the accession mime follows-on from a farce in the text, a theatrical performance and a genuine event.

Suetonius was not the first to use mime to sell an idea. Wiseman carefully argues the connection between Catullus the poet and ‘Catullus the mimographer’, not only because no author makes that distinction, but because of the influence of mime on poetry.¹⁵⁶ The proposal that Catullus’ interest in using mime was in ‘extending the idea of mimic “imitation of reality” to include supposedly historical events’,¹⁵⁷ may have real relevance for Suetonius’ use of mime because it can make a significant point about a historical event. What Suetonius has done is to place two theatrical pieces back-to-back, and used recognisable pantomime and mimes to describe the changeover of power; the text physically reflects this relationship. ‘Before’: the Egyptian scenes were still in rehearsal, as they had not been performed before Gaius’ death,¹⁵⁸ and ‘After’: the scene based on the *Pro Caelio*.

Hollis remarks that the *Pro Caelio* contains many quotations from Roman drama, including describing Clodia as the *Medea* of the Palatine,¹⁵⁹ the mime with no satisfactory conclusion at *Pro Caelio* 27, and the allusion to the Trojan Horse.¹⁶⁰ Hollis demonstrates how Cicero may have used *alveus* because it came from *Equus Troioanus* ‘and this helped Cicero to move his hearer’s thought towards tragedy’.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ T.P. Wiseman, *Catullus and his World*, 1987, p.192-3, and n40, 43 for mime and poetry demonstrated by Virgil, and Theocritus’ use of a character from mime in *Idyll* 2 (*Pharmakeutria*).

¹⁵⁷ Wiseman (1987) p.195.

¹⁵⁸ The Egyptian scenes’ content are unknown, Suet.*Gaius*.LVII.4; Barrett (1993) p.173.

¹⁵⁹ Cic.*Pro Cael*.8 see trans Gardner note a, p.428, *Medea anionio aegra, amore saevo saucia* (Medea, sick at heart, wounded by cruel love).

¹⁶⁰ A.S. Hollis ‘A tragic fragment in Cicero *Pro Caelio* 67’, 1988, see note 13 p.562 for allusion of ship’s hull in *alveus* when the soldiers were asked if they were hiding in a second Trojan Horse - note that *alveus* can also mean a bath with a step at the bottom implying that the soldiers were hiding in another room at the Baths.

¹⁶¹ Hollis (1988) p.562. For referral of Cicero to *Equus Troioanus* in *Ad.Fam*.7.1, and for using *muliere bellum* from the play, where a war is instigated by a woman (Clodia) see notes 19-20, 25-28 p.563.

This argument could be employed for the mime scene which Suetonius uses to make the reader think of comedy or farce. There might be an oblique reference to the influence of Messalina,¹⁶² by Suetonius drawing a parallel, and inferring that Claudius was married to a latter-day Clodia. The parallel may be in terms of organising a plot, revenge, political advancement or eliminating an adversary. Both Licinius and Claudius are in similar situations and have similarly weak characters; both are dupes and seem to be unwitting minor cogs in the turn of events. The parallels of events and characters are not an exact fit, but close enough to make the similarities of the themes of the farce coming to an end work in a literary and theatrical setting.

There is a further motif of cowardice and concealment, where in Cicero the concealment refers to the soldiers not Licinius, but in Suetonius it may refer to the cowardice of the assassins lying in wait for Gaius. There was no proof that Licinius was involved in the murder and Cicero lays out the rules of evidence for this case, which could also be applied to the murder of Gaius.

‘No corroborative proof is to be found in the circumstances; no ground for suspicion in any part of the case, no object for or result of the crime, can be imagined. Therefore, this cause, instead of being supported by arguments, by conjecture, and by those tokens by which the truth generally has a light thrown upon it, rests wholly on the witnesses’.¹⁶³

Therefore it is difficult for counsel to prove any connections, especially for Licinius, to the plot - he is not part of a conspiracy unless a witness says so because there is no proof. Exactly the same argument can apply to Claudius if Suetonius uses the framework of the *Pro Caelio* 27-28, and even if Suetonius thought Claudius was guilty of conspiracy there was no evidence to prove it.

¹⁶² A.A.Barrett, *Agrippina: Sex, Power, and Politics in the Early Empire*, 1996 p.78-9 explains the depiction of Messalina and sex and that some of the more risqué tales may stem from allegations of gross immorality. These are in a similar vein to Cicero's attack on Clodia.

¹⁶³ Cic *Pro Cael.*28, trans. R.Gardner

3.3c Laugh, and the world laughs with you?...comedy and Claudius

Without wanting to explore Comedy as a discipline too deeply, there are some points raised by Geffcken that are worth considering in relation to the *Pro Caelio*.¹⁶⁴ These ideas may, by transference, show Suetonius' account to be based on the Ciceronian idea. In relation to the meaning of comedy, Aristotle states that comedy is a type of imitation of men who are inferior,¹⁶⁵ of which are created three comic types; two are appropriate for Claudius - a man who pretends to be less than he is, and a buffoon.¹⁶⁶

An alternative to the buffoon scene is when the comic hero can lead an audience, and he is able to turn things to his own benefit: according to Whitman 'the comic hero abides by no rules except his own, his heroism consisting largely in his infallible skill in turning everything to his own advantage, often by a mere trick of language'.¹⁶⁷ There is a double meaning here for Claudius: either he turns everything to his advantage after the murder of Gaius so he is the comic hero, or he is a buffoon, a type of comic anti-hero where the 'inept Claudius' is not able to exploit the confusion for his benefit. Being a 'comic hero' would be a new character type to use when interpreting some of the sources that dwell on Claudius' stupidity, and this concept requires further research.

Geffcken demonstrates how Cicero carefully constructs a comedic framework of a prologue, an imaginary observer, ignorance and judgement based on appearances, and the parody of tragedy where the theme of *Medea* is introduced.¹⁶⁸ Cicero tries to create an argument in the *Pro Caelio* that 'through parody and caricature his purpose is to make his political enemy (Clodius) totally ludicrous' and Geffcken cites Freud's explanation that 'one can make a person comic in order to make him become

¹⁶⁴ K.A Geffcken *Comedy in the Pro Caelio*, Mnemosyne Supplementum Tricesium, EJ Brill Leiden, 1973.

¹⁶⁵ Geffcken (1973) p.6, Arist *Poet.*1449A31.

¹⁶⁶ Geffcken (1973) p.6, from Arist.*Nic. Eth.* 1108A, 1127AB. For Cicero's knowledge of style and drama see p7-8 and note 4 p.7.

¹⁶⁷ C Whitman in Geffcken (1973) p.7.

¹⁶⁸ Geffcken (1973) p.15, see note 1 for theatrical references, and section 18 of *Pro Caelio*.

contemptible, to deprive him of his claim to dignity and authority'.¹⁶⁹ If one applies Freud to Suetonius' use of the description of Claudius hiding behind a curtain, where fear and reaction are combined to make the heir contemptible, what results is, that for the reader, Claudius' accession and principate are tarnished for good by the comic characterisation.

The theme of reciprocity, a relationship of give-and-take, was previously examined by Terence in *Phormio*. This relationship can be between patron and client, friends, family, or political allies where goodwill is built on the 'mutual exchange of *officia* (duties) and *beneficia* (favors)'.¹⁷⁰ Anxiety can occur in any system because a balanced exchange is virtually impossible when what is exchanged are intangibles like promises and thanks.¹⁷¹ In *Phormio* the examination is centred on a parasite, not the stock comic character, but someone who initially appears at the top of the social order but is not what he seems (living off his wife for no return).¹⁷²

What can be taken from this is how even stock characters can be subverted, and that Claudius being in the Praetorian debt is not what it seems at first. Suetonius portrayed Claudius as being in debt to the guard, and not vice versa, he served their needs.

The dramatic form of mime has characteristics of 'illogical and shapeless plots, farce, tricks and illusion, flamboyant and often obscene gestures, and the extravagant laugh, the *risus mimicus*'.¹⁷³ Catullus talks of the mime's unbecoming walk and annoying laugh,

¹⁶⁹ Geffcken (1973) p.20 on Cic.*Pro.Cael.*36ff. and Freud (see note 1 p.20) on methods of making a person comic by creating a comic situation by mimicry, disguise, unmasking, caricature, parody, travesty – all these factors can be applied to Suet.*Claud.X*. Cicero constructs a gradual comic degradation from serious to ridiculous, high to lowbrow, contrasting Appius Claudius Caecus public works with Publius Clodius Pulcher misappropriating them, so there is a transposition and comparison from Appius to Clodius from Geffcken (1973) p.18-19; Cicero also uses a similar device 'degrading' the character of Clodia using comedy then a lower formula – mime, see p.24-5. In Suetonius, the ludicrous events of Claudius' accession come after the exceptionally serious events of the murder of the *princeps*.

¹⁷⁰ T.J.Moore 'Terence and Roman New Comedy' 2001, p.263.

¹⁷¹ Moore (2001) p.263.

¹⁷² Moore (2001) p.262.

¹⁷³ Geffcken p.24, and note 2 discusses the style of mimes including exaggerated mimicry, excessive laughter, and low diction; see Cicero *De Orat.*2.239, 274; *Phil.*8.26 Cicero talks of Antony protecting

*ille quam videtis
turpe incedere, mimice ac moleste
ridendum catuli ore Gallicani.*

“Who’s she?” ye question: yonder one ye sight
Mincingly pacing mime-like, perfect pest,
With jaws wide grinning like a Gallic pup.¹⁷⁴

The sickening grin of a mime in Catullus’ line *mimice ac moleste ridentem*,¹⁷⁵ and the grinning of the Gallic pup, is recalled by Suetonius’ *risus indecens*;¹⁷⁶ the drawing of an allusion by Suetonius to mime means Claudius is attacked by association every time he laughs, since it conjures up the picture of a mime and recalls the ridiculous situation of the events in the palace, reducing his power and authority as princeps. Additionally in Catullus the use of the phrase *turpe incedere* demonstrates that Clodia’s walk shows her immoral character¹⁷⁷ – Claudius’ gait is deformed, and this combined with his extravagant *risus indecens*, unpleasant laugh, and the character described, recalls characteristics similar to one created by mime.

the interests of his buffoons and pimps, and shielding muscle-bound centurions by placing them among his theatrical troops/troupes (?) of buffoons.

¹⁷⁴ Catullus 42.7-9 trans E.T. Merrill www.perseus.tufts.edu 15/04/04. An alternative outlook is ‘You ask, “Which one is yours?” The one parading in front like a stage tart grinning like a French poodle’, trans. P. Whigham *The Poems of Catullus*, 1966.

¹⁷⁵ ET Merrill, commentary on Cat.42.8, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu> 2/12/04, see C.J. Fordyce *Catullus*, 1961 p.194 who discusses *Gallicani* in relation to Narbonensis and Cisalpina; K. Quinn *Catullus the Poems*, 1996 p.217 also cites Arrian *Cyneg.*3.1; R. Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus*, 1976, also cites Arrian where ‘there were two kinds, one shaggy and ugly with a villainous look and a whining bark used for tracking; the other called *uertragi* from a Celtic root meaning ‘swift’, fine creatures to look at, and used for running’, Arrian *Cyneg.* 3.6, Ellis (1876) p.118; there are also connections to the *littera canina* of Pers. *Sat.*1.109, *Satires of A. Persius Flaccus*³ trans. J. Conington, 1893. See Catullus 10.33-34; Ellis (1876) p.117 also notes *mimice ac moleste* is the probably a parody of Plautus *modice et moleste*, Persius *Sat.*iii.1.18.

¹⁷⁶ Suet. *Claud.*XXX. The Latin Vulgate ed. St Jerome has *quomodo pulchras frustra habet claudus tibias indecens est in ore stultorum parabola*, ‘Like the legs of the lame that hang loose: So is a parable in the mouth of fools’ *Proverbs* 26.7 (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Proverbs+26.1>; 21/12/04) This contains the elements of an inappropriate gait and behaviour, and adds the factor of stupidity – all these are used to attack Claudius by Suetonius, although there is no reason to connect *Proverbs* to Suetonius other than both may be using a commonplace or motif. Vitruvius 7.5.6 mentions the impropriety, *indecent*, of the Alabandines, who were politically astute, but where the placing of statues in their *Gymnasium* resulted in being judged unintelligent. This may be an additional allusion in Suet. *Claud.*X., and E.C. Evans, ‘Physiognomics in the Ancient World’, 1969 p.94 n9 notes *risus indecens* in Polemo and the *Physiognomonica Latina*., although it is the only physiognomic factor in *Claud.*XXX not in pseudo-Aristotle.

¹⁷⁷ Quinn (1996) p.217; Fordyce (1961) p.194.

3.4 Conclusion

The mixture of the possible (hiding as a result of fear) and the programmatic reinforces the scene as one of pure theatre, make-believe in the sense of being unbelievable and unreal. Conversely one could argue that the suspension of disbelief by any reader has in the main been complete, and therefore Suetonius' contrivance has been extraordinary successful. The scene has been constructed in such a way to allow it to be constantly replayed like a video loop with no need for additional narrative. It may be that the scene was inserted from another written source, or more likely from a mime between *scaena*, like a farcical B-movie. Suetonius has produced an account using elements from a contemporary version of a mime, one that he can insert into his account of the accession. If Suetonius used an eyewitness account then it becomes problematic explaining the lack of name when there is a name in Josephus for the *miles*, or accounting for the extra person in the scene (the eyewitness), unacknowledged by, but party to history-in-the-making. Therefore the elements of absurdity in this scene are the work of Suetonius or more likely a theatrical source, rather than an original part of the story. One can imagine actors running about the stage, multiple entrances and exits to act out the events on the Palatine in the hours after the murder. If imagination permits, the physical slapstick of Keaton or an ensemble such as the Keystone Kops on silent film may be an appropriate parallel for the chaos the mime troupe would be trying to recreate on stage. Characters running back and forth in front of the figure hiding behind the curtain, the audience waiting for the act of discovery. Every performance of *Saturnalicus princeps* is set up on stage,¹⁷⁸ Claudius quivering behind the curtain would be similar to the banana-skin sight gag – the audience knows it is being set up, yet the execution of it still raises a laugh.

Suetonius has reproduced a particularly durable piece of visual and dramatic theatre, one that is presented as dramatic history and presented as an actual event. The influence of a *fabula praetexta*, and the use of a mime well-known to the Roman

¹⁷⁸ *Saturnalicus princeps* is a speculative proposal for the title of the mime, and coincidentally the translation given by Eden is 'Carnival emperor', and there was an inversion of society's normal rules during the Saturnalia festival. The phrase was used by Seneca in *Apocolocyntosis* 8.2, see Eden (1984) p.101 for discussion that Claudius' behaviour was more like acting as a *Saturnalicus rex* (Saturnalian King).

audience (which has not survived, and likely to be a known mime) is relevant here. The evidence in this chapter demonstrates that the version of the discovery of Claudius before acclamation as set out in Suetonius is questionable in terms of historical accuracy. It only adds weight to the more conventional version in *Antiquities* that Claudius was found in the palace by Gratus and the *Germani*.

The plot outline of the *Pro Caelio* is used by Suetonius only as a model to insert the accession mime into his adaptation of events. The dramatic framework would be clear, especially for an educated audience, and no energy would be wasted on an explanation of the mechanics of the piece. It acts as shorthand, explaining what happened before and it allows the comic mime to follow a tragedy. The use of a known rhetorical structure allows Suetonius to adapt and insert the stage accession into his account without changing the dramatic outline of events. On one hand increasing the dramatic impact of his version, on the other triggering recognition of the mime in his readership, recalling the farcical nature of Claudius' accession and consequently his principate.

Suetonius' account does not weaken the conclusions of the previous chapter, and he has used what is probably a well-known stage version of the discovery of Claudius. The inclusion of the still unidentified room or space called the *Hermaeum*, and the description of this space, and the depiction of Claudius hiding behind the curtain points to a theatrical setting. This practice is in-keeping with other authors who may have used or been influenced by a *fabula praetexta* or literary works that produced dramatic versions of history as a result. One could argue that the ridicule poured on Claudius has had longevity because the discovery sequence does not require reading to become part of the public imagination; Suetonius has adapted a very effective piece of theatre, and reproduced an image that has become seared into 'history'. This results in any discussion of the accession of Claudius requiring context. Basing an evaluation of Claudius' principate on Suetonius' version of the accession will create an unbalanced picture because it would be starting from the wrong premise, that he was ridiculed, weak, timid and in the pocket of the Praetorian guard.

The result is that Suetonius' work provides less documentary evidence and should be read carefully to consider if there are literary influences. This chapter has been a specific investigation of an episode in Suetonius and the conclusions may have wider applications in analysing his work. Therefore, should one re-examine Suetonius' reliability and his ambition which may produce new interpretations of the *Lives*? He was a man of letters *ab epistulis*, but not a literary man, yet *divus Claudius* demonstrates that Suetonius is thoughtful, alert to the learned possibilities, and that he can apply colour and detail with wit and imagination.

4. The sources: character sketches or medical evidence?

This chapter will establish the nature of the evidence used to diagnose Claudius' illness. The problem is twofold; the written descriptions are not clinical evidence, and they are coloured by literary themes, so there is no conventional medical "evidence". The sources provide a patchwork of information, and each is a puzzle that must be solved before the question of Claudius' illness can be tackled with any confidence. The aim is to discover how to use these nuggets of information. The work of each author will be assessed for features of Claudius that verify or disprove evidence of general health, disease, deformity, and handicap. The evidence that may explain the portrait of Claudius in the sources is contained within the descriptions mainly assembled but not necessarily produced after his death, which provide a pattern of his symptoms and disabilities. This chapter will not produce any medical conclusions; it will only set out what was attested in the sources (Seneca, Josephus, Juvenal, Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio), and discuss how each author presents a version of Claudius which can be analysed and ordered to construct a viable picture of his symptoms in chapters five and six. An important aspect of the study is to identify whether Claudius' reported dysfluency could be split off from a diagnosis of his ailment. The methodology of this investigation uses a diagnosis of exclusion, and diseases will be discarded whenever they do not match the sources in any key aspect. Therefore it is important to understand the weight of the evidence, so pieces of information identified in the sources are the building blocks for the project. Each will be detached from the source and used in the following chapters to construct an overall picture of the potential pathology, and create an authentic but theoretical physical 'reality' for Claudius. The evidence is presented in chronological order of the sources, which allows one to trace the literary development of a characteristic or symptom, and therefore sets out how Claudius' illness is used by the sources.

Seneca gives two differing, even opposing snapshots of Claudius. The first is flattering within *ad Polybium*, a letter written towards the end of his exile cAD43 to the imperial freedman Polybius, which concentrates on Claudius' commendable behaviour, and the *princeps*' prodigious memory applied to producing an appropriate

historical model to solve any given situation. The letter will not be examined in this chapter because while it has evidence of Claudius' mental strengths it does not contain any aspects related to physical health. The second is a satirical and sneering sketch of a distorted apotheosis, the *Apocolocyntosis*, which surfaced after the *princeps*' death in AD54.¹ The latter concentrates on the physical and mental inadequacy of the late *princeps* describing his lame right leg, the head movement when Claudius spoke, a stutter, and hand tremor.

Josephus published *Antiquities* in AD93/4 and provides a detailed survey of the accession,² and although it offers no physical portrait, it provides valuable evidence of physical weakness and, more importantly, of handicap in terms of capability in AD41. Juvenal, writing satirical attacks on a wide variety of targets, uses the more graphic facets of Claudius' illness to create a picture reflecting physical revulsion at the *princeps*, and describes nasal and oral discharge and somnolence. It is notable that Juvenal was writing in the AD110s or 120s,³ when the negative images were still powerful and still resonated for the audience. Suetonius, in *De vita Caesarum* written in the AD110s,⁴ has specific chapters on Claudius' health as he has for other emperors, and these are invaluable in the task of piecing together a coherent pathology for the illness. Suetonius describes weak knees, a stutter, a head tremor under stress, nasal discharge and a hand tremor. In the *Annals* cAD115-120,⁵ Tacitus provides no real insight into Claudius' physical condition, but the omission of any salient points can also reflect the seriousness or lack of gravity of the condition and not that Tacitus necessarily judged these factors to be unimportant, (although it is possible that he may have done). Dio, having embarked on writing *Roman History* cAD202, confirms most of what has gone before, and although his value is compromised for the medical information by the compressed style of compiling his history,⁶ he portrays a head and hand tremor that are causally related to a stutter.

¹ Seneca *Apocolocyntosis*, ed. P.T. Eden (1984) p.4-5. This work accepts the authorship of Seneca, mainly on the grounds of the consistent and detailed portrait of Claudius, but acknowledging the slim possibility of it being the work of another writer.

² See Rajak (1983) ch.1; *OCD*³ p.798.

³ G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist A Study*, 1954, p.4-39; *OCD*³ p.804-5.

⁴ Wallace-Hadrill (1983), p.2-8, see p.48, 67, 71 and 176 for Suetonius' treatment of physical defects of the Caesars; *OCD*³ p.1451-2.

⁵ Syme *Tacitus*, *passim*; *OCD*³ p.1469-70.

⁶ Dio compiled his history over a long period of time AD197-207, written from AD207-219, for discussion see Millar (1964) p.29-72; *OCD*³ p.299-300.

The outline portrait of Claudius is reasonably consistent in the sources, and the source evidence will be examined first. There follows a description of numismatic evidence, which also discusses the iconography of Claudius that was produced on the reverse of coins from Asia Minor, and Macedonia. The influence of physiognomics on the sources is examined with respect to the portrait of Claudius. I will argue that essentially the sources contain a core of consistent and accurate details which only become available once the authorial distortions and manipulations have been stripped away.⁷

In the following chapters, there will be a review of pathology, listing and describing possible diseases for Claudius including a section on late onset degenerative diseases that are concurrent with the source descriptions. This will not produce a survey of the contemporary knowledge in ancient medicine; therefore the pathological review will be from the perspective of modern medicine. The evidence gathered from the sources will be used to investigate the claims of modern scholarship in the next chapter and examine three particular cases: Dystonia, Cerebral Palsy and Tourette's syndrome. Following on is an analytical and interpretative chapter that will discuss a hypothesis for Claudius and Post Polio Syndrome based on the evidence in the sources.

The first section 4.1, examines the evidence in each source, and explains how it should be interpreted to allow the results to be used to generate a practical diagnosis, followed by the conclusions of ancient historian, the iconography on coins, and finally a section on how physiognomics relates to the study of Claudius.

⁷ These distortions can be formed from an ideological bias or from contamination through transmission and manipulation by other sources.

4.1 Medical fabrication or substantiation: the evidence of evidence

4.1a Seneca: *Apocolocyntosis*

The first reference in *Apocolocyntosis* about Claudius concerns his gait, *idem Claudium uidisse se dicet iter facientem 'non passibus aequis'*, 'he will say that he saw Claudius making the same journey "with unequal steps"'.⁸ Although the allusion to Claudius' unequal steps would be relevant if he really had difficulty walking,⁹ there is no mention of any other factors that would be visible to the curator of the Appian Way.

With Claudius having suffered for so long, Mercury asks one of the three Fates why she will not let him die; her answer was *annus sexagesimus et quartus est, ex quo cum anima luctatur*, 'for sixty-four years he has been struggling with the breath of life'.¹⁰ Not only is there a mischievous note in using Mercury, the god of speech and strong limbs, but there may also be a more literal explanation of a physical problem with inhaling and exhaling.¹¹ Seneca writes that at the point of death *et ille quidem animam ebullit*, 'and he did indeed gurgle his life out'.¹² A breathing or speech problem may be reflected here, and it is not necessarily an isolated or a terminal event.

⁸ Sen.*Apoc.*1.2; Eden (1984) p.66 for reference to *Aeneid*.2.723ff. The Latin references and translation are from the text edited by Eden.

⁹ Further literary and anthropological examination of 'Lame Kingship', following Vernant, would be appropriate here, and may offer a counterbalance to Seneca's allusion. Sen.*Apoc.*1.2. There are similarities in the literary and physiognomic features in the description of Claudius which will be discussed later in 4.4.

¹⁰ Sen.*Apoc.*3.1. The 'struggle' may have a psychological element, but Seneca does not make that clear.

¹¹ See Eden (1984) p.72 for Mercury; the reference may be to that every minute was a struggle for someone of Claudius' limited abilities, and wouldn't it be better to put him out of his misery?

¹² Sen.*Apoc.*4.2; Eden (1984) p.80 refers to Petron.42.3 and 62.10; Persius 2.9ff.; the explanation is of the bubbles produced as a flask is poured out. Eden proposes the allusion to Claudius 'the gourd' being drained of every drop of life, but this will be refuted later.

As Claudius approaches the ‘gates of heaven’ a messenger describes him as being of good build, *bonae staturae*, which directly contradicts *Apoc.*5.3 and 11.3. The report that ‘he was making some kind of threat, because he was continually wagging his head; he was dragging his right foot’, *nescio quid illum minari, assidue enim caput mouere; pedem dextrum trahere*,¹³ creates a confusing portrait. Making a possible threat is linked to the movement of the head, in other words the gesture was at least worrying or unusual enough not to be seen as normal. Dragging the right leg does not seem to be involved in making the threat, but it may intensify the abnormality of the collective appearance (head and leg), which in itself may be threatening to those of a nervous disposition. There is no suggestion that the dragging of the leg and the shaking of the head are connected to each other because Seneca explains that the cause of the threat was the shaking head. The meeting of Claudius and Hercules contains attacks on speech and physical defects:

*tum Hercules primo aspectu sane perturbatus est, ut qui etiam non omnia monstra timuerit. ut uidit noui generis faciem, insolitum incessum, vocem nullius terrestris animalis sed qualis esse marinis beluis solet, raucam et implicatam, putauit sibi tertium decimum laborem venisse.*¹⁴

Then at first sight Hercules was really shocked, like a man who had occasion to fear monsters, but not yet all of them. When he encountered the shape of unprecedented kind, the unusual gait, the voice like that of no land-animal but typical of sea-beasts, hoarse and inarticulate, he thought his thirteenth labour had arrived’.

The idea of coming across an unprecedented shape may also be picked up by Josephus or the source he was using;¹⁵ the inclusion of a description of Claudius’ unusual gait reinforces the concept of a possibly deformed individual, but there may be allusions of a moral not physical nature.

During an emotional outburst, where his speech is reported as *murmure*¹⁶, Claudius kept ordering *Febris*¹⁷ to be taken away for punishment, *illo gestu solutae manus, et*

¹³ *Sen. Apoc.*5.2.

¹⁴ *Sen. Apoc.*5.3; Eden (1984) p.85; *Juv. Sat.*3.238.

¹⁵ *Jos. Ant.*XIX.217

¹⁶ *Sen. Apoc.*6.2 *Murmure* may point to some characteristic of Claudius’ speech, or some quality of the voice; it does not necessarily follow that it is connected to Suet, *Claud.*30 where anger provokes foaming at the mouth and a trickling nose as Eden (1984) p91 proposes.

¹⁷ Eden (1984) p.88 re 6.1 where *cum illo tot annis uixi* is interpreted as Claudius probably suffered from malaria, whose symptoms of shaking/shivering would be the same as Claudius trembling. Malaria in Rome will not be considered further in relation to Claudius in this thesis.

ad hoc unum satis firmae, quo decollare homines solebat, iusserat illi collum praecidi, ‘with that gesture he employed to decapitate people, made by his shaking hand, which was steady enough for this single purpose, he had given the order for her neck to be severed’.¹⁸ Here it is implied that the gesture from Claudius’ shaking hand was steady enough to order an execution. The peculiarity of the movement is unknown, although there is a hint of ridicule here.

Hercules, when addressing Claudius, says he cannot understand him, and asks *quae patria, quae gens mobile eduxit caput?* ‘What homeland, what race reared thy restless head?’¹⁹ There is no indication as to whether the shaking head is caused by physiological consequence of disease or whether it is the result of dysfluency. In this instance the symptom follows on from a line describing incomprehensible speech sounds, *quid nunc profatu uocis incerto sonas?*, ‘what noises makest thou now with indistinct utterance of thy voice?’²⁰ It would be reasonable to link the two factors but emphasising that the head movement comes before the block or dysfluency and this is a precursor to speech.

When Claudius replies to Hercules’ outburst, he describes the exhausting work he carried out in the law courts, and *quantum illic miseriarum ego contulerim*, has been interpreted as referring to Claudius’ own agonies,²¹ although whether they are of a physical nature encompassing endurance is not clear.

¹⁸ Sen.*Apoc.*6.2, trans Eden.

¹⁹ Sen.*Apoc.*7.2, trans Eden, the following lines discuss whether the land that contains the fast flowing Rhône and the seemingly indecisive or irresolute Saône, *ubi Rhodanus ingens amne praerapido fluit Ararque, dubitans quo suos cursus agat*, ‘where the mighty Rhône with rapidest current, and the Saône, doubting in which direction to drive its course’. Hercules asks ‘is that land the nurse of thy life-breath?’ By comparison this sets up direct counters to Claudius’ hesitant speech in terms of eloquence, and his use of *Constantia* with regard to imperial steadfastness. In a different metaphor, rivers also make a noise, such as the babbling brook, which may have some resonance with Claudius gurgling.

²⁰ Sen.*Apoc.*7.2.trans Eden, but *incerto* when relating to an action can mean hesitating or irresolute, in this case speech; note the similarity to *dubitans* relating to the Saône.

²¹ Sen.*Apoc.* 7.5; see Eden (1984) p.97. Suet *Claud.*33.2 where falling asleep may show the results of fatigue from long hours in court. Even if the line 7.5 refers only to the litigants in court, it may bear some relevance to Claudius’ physical condition and stamina.

Augustus' attack on Claudius' deification includes the detrimental physical reference *uidete corpus eius dis iratis natum. ad summam, tria uerba cito dicat et seruum me ducat*, 'Look at his body, born when the gods were in a rage. In short, let him utter three words in quick succession and he can take me as his slave'.²² This harks back to *Apoc.*5.3, and may be reflected in Antonia's outburst against her son.²³ One can deduce from the challenge issued by Augustus regarding Claudius' speech, that in all probability he would not be able to string three words together, especially under the pressure of a challenge. Seneca only confirms Augustus' surprise at Claudius' ability to declaim so clearly when his speech is normally inarticulate or uncertain, ἀσαφῶς.²⁴ The expectation of a breakdown does not mean that it is a physical symptom, because under the controlled conditions of a declamation there is no stutter, no dysfluency. Under these conditions Augustus would not have made the wager.

As has been demonstrated in the opening chapter, it is unlikely that Claudius had any deformity at birth, so the line would make sense if subsequent childhood illness causing deformity resulted in his adult body being unlike his fellow men. In addition, the possible influence of the metaphor of disorder in the state and the sickness of the body politic in Greek *poleis* should be considered. Although not explicitly described as disease, they are alluded to by symptoms of inflammation, swelling, wounds, fractures and sprains.²⁵ One might argue that Seneca may have been inclined to exaggerate because of the prevalence of the metaphor of disease to describe political disruption. Freudenburg explains that Persius writes along similar lines, where sick

²² Sen.*Apoc.*11.3, Eden (1984) p.124 explains *dis iratis natum* is a common expression and cites Hor.*Sat.*2.3.8; Phaedr.4.20.15; Plaut.*Most.*563; Juv.*Sat.*10.129.

²³ Suet.*Claud.*3.2, *Mater Antonia portentum eum hominis dictitabat, nec absolutum a natura, ed tantum incohatur.*

²⁴ Suet.*Claud.*iv.6. Seneca denotes Hercules' inability to understand Claudius, asking what sort of Greek he is speaking, and this is a direct parallel to Hercules failing to understand the barbarian speech and gibberish of the Triballian envoy in Aristoph.*Birds.*III.440-519. Note the similarities between the Triballian and Claudius who is stated to be a *Gallus germanus*, *Apoc.*6.1, a genuine Gaul. For the barbarism of Gallia Comata see G Woolf, *Becoming Roman, The Origins of provincial Civilization in Gaul*, 1998, p.53, 58-63, 68-76. See Eden (1984) p.89-90 for the pun used.

²⁵ See R. Brock, 'Sickness in the Body Politic; medical imagery in the Greek *poleis*', 2000, p.24-34. Note how the *stasis* in Cyrene and the plague in Athens are paralleled, where symptomatic description, the prognostic function of the accounts and the medical terms are used in analysing *stasis* in the Peloponnesian War, Brock (2000) p.31. This concept needs further investigation with regard to its influence in Rome. Also see J.C. Kosak, '*Polis Nosousa*; Greek ideas about the city and disease in the Fifth century BC', 2000 p.35-54 who explores the Greek concepts of disease and how the *polis* environment could affect the spread and incidence of disease.

images are created, there are descriptions of bodies in distress, and the attack is directed at Nero's world, one that is rotten to the core.²⁶

As Claudius watched his own funeral, which Seneca describes as a fit for a god, and where in addition to the enormous crowd, there was a huge number of trumpet and horn players, *ut etiam Claudius audire posset*.²⁷ What is of interest here is that Seneca places the horns in an immense throng, so they would have to be loud enough to be heard above the noise of crowd, and for the spectating Claudius to make them out. Some stutterers have difficulty with differentiating sounds in a tumult, and delayed audio feedback (DAF) is a factor that can result in the subject being unable to distinguish different voice frequencies so, in effect, they cannot hear clearly what is being said by any one individual.

When Talthybius takes Claudius away from the procession 'the Talthybius of the gods laid a hand on him and dragged him, with his head muffled up so that nobody could recognize him, across the Campus Martius'²⁸ – there are inconsistencies. If Claudius' body were as deformed as Seneca implies, then it would be difficult to camouflage such an obvious and well-known figure under the cloak. There may be a link to Claudius being taken up to the Capitol in a litter to receive the *toga virilis* at midnight where he is, in effect, concealed to avoid recognition.²⁹ The fact that Talthybius drags Claudius may be significant, in that he is not carried. On reaching adulthood, and on his accession, he is carried – because of his weak health, or

²⁶ K. Freudenburg, *Satires Of Rome*, 2001 p.173-83.

²⁷ Sen. *Apoc.* 12.1; Eden (1984) p.129 reasons that deafness is not usually ascribed to Claudius, but that his sleeping may have given the impression (Suet. *Claud.* 8; Juv. *Sat.* 3.238), i.e. that the loud noise of the trumpets would have woken him up. Hurley (2001) p.200 states deafness maybe present. See Dio.60.33.6 for the assembly where the Bithynians complained as a group against the corruption of the governor Junius Cilo. 'Narcissus used to make sport openly of Claudius. Indeed, the report has it that on a certain occasion when Claudius was holding court and the Bithynians raised a great outcry against Junius Cilo, who had been their governor, claiming that he had taken enormous bribes, and the emperor, not understanding by reason of the noise they made, asked the bystanders what they were saying, Narcissus, instead of telling him the truth, said that they were expressing their gratitude to Junius. And Claudius, believing him, said: "Well, then, he should be procurator two years longer"', Dio.60.33.6 trans. Cary.

²⁸ Sen. *Apoc.* 13.1, *inicit illi manum Talthybius deorum [nuntius] et trahit capite obuoluto, ne quis eum possit agnoscere, per campum Martium...*

²⁹ Suet. *Claud.* II.

infirmity, yet on his final journey he is not afforded that luxury and he is dragged as he drags his own leg.³⁰

Seneca writes about the end of Claudius, and there is a curious section where Apollo and Lachesis order everybody to carry Claudius out from the house, then he writes *et ille quidem animam ebuliit*, ‘and he did indeed gurgle his life out’.³¹ This was the last thing to be heard from Claudius, even after the noise of the evacuation of the bowels – does this mean the funeral preparations had begun even before he was dead?

*‘quid, femina crudelissima, hominem miserum torqueri pateris? Nec umquam tam diu cruciatus cesset? annus sexagesimus et quartus est, ex quo cum anima luctatur’.*³²

‘Cruellest of women, why are you letting the wretched man be racked? Is he never to have a rest after being tortured for so long? For sixty-four years he has been struggling with the breath of life’.

This section reinforces the motif of breathing difficulties and a long-term struggle, but they could be connected through stuttering, and not necessarily through disease.³³ This is important in terms of reception – Seneca would write for an audience who would know whether the lack of breath was caused by speech block or illness (disease), but the scholar does not know which it can be from these few lines only. Seneca has produced a very detailed portrayal of Claudius, one where he satirised the *princeps*, but he is also described the man, either directly or in an oblique fashion. Seneca provides the clearest description of the physical aspects of Claudius’ stutter.

³⁰ There is an allusion here to prisoners being dragged away for punishment, not only the infirm and the ill.

³¹ Sen. *Apoc.* 4.2, trans. Eden

³² Sen. *Apoc.* 3.1, trans. Eden; 3.2 contains Seneca’s observation on imprecision of astrologers, *mathematicos*, see Eden (1984) p73, and for proposal of Claudius birth in unnatural circumstances.

³³ This does not exclude both causes being prevalent simultaneously.

4.1b Josephus – *Antiquities*

Josephus says of Claudius after the murder of Gaius, that he had little to fear from the uproar in the palace; only his noble rank was a debit in that environment, not the supposed disabilities.³⁴ When Claudius finds a place to hide in the passage, Josephus reports that Gratus could make out a shape in the shadows that was human – but Josephus introduces the idea that either Claudius was somehow naturally misshapen or that in the course of concealing himself he was bent into an unnatural position, similar to crouching for example.³⁵ The allusion of a possible monstrous form is left as an image, ambiguous and unclear until Claudius is recognised.

καὶ Γράτος τῶν περὶ τὸ βασιλείον τις στρατιωτῶν
θεασάμενος καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀκριβοσκομένου τὴν ὄψιν ἀμαθῆς
ὦν διὰ τὸν σκότον, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι τὸν ὑπολογῶντα
κριτῆς εἶναι μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένου.³⁶

‘Gratus, one of the palace guard caught sight of him, but was unable to make out his features well enough to recognize him in the dim light. Still he was not so far afield as not to determine that the lurking creature was human’.

Claudius asks to be spared by Gratus, who has recognised Germanicus, and the emotional aspect of Claudius’ fear is reinforced when he realises that Gratus is there for another reason – namely to conduct him elsewhere in safety. At this juncture Claudius was unable to walk, because Josephus says of the effects of fear and joy, in other words he was overcome by the emotional reaction to the situation.³⁷

ἀνεβάσαζέν τε αὐτὸν οὐ πάνυ τοῖς ποσὶ βαίνειν δυνάμενον
ὑπὸ τε φόβου καὶ χάρματος τῶν εἰρημένων.

‘So they took him up and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot, such was his dread and his joy at what was told him’.³⁸

³⁴ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.212-3.

³⁵ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.217.

³⁶ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.217, trans. Feldman; Greek text.

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgibin/ptext?lookup=J.+AJ+19.212> 2/01/05; compare to the Whiston translation ‘But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was, because it was dark, though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design, he came nearer to him’.

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgibin/ptext?lookup=J.+AJ+19.212> 2/01/05.

³⁷ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.220.

³⁸ Jos.*Ant.*XIX.220 trans. Whiston, see n55.

Josephus does not state that Claudius was infirm, but rather weak with nervous exhaustion; this may be feasible, but to omit the possibility that any weakness in Claudius' right leg (or both legs) may have been apparent, demonstrates that Josephus wished to concentrate his portrait on other features of the new *princeps*. Josephus' portrayal of Claudius offers less evidence to support the notion of a severely disabled Claudius given by others. Josephus seems to have deliberately avoided the easy opportunity for an extended illustration of Claudius' infirmity; the factors that are present in his account can be justified by other factors.

4.1c Juvenal – *Satires*

Juvenal writes that the cacophony of noise in the streets of Rome was such, that it would even wake a Drusus³⁹, or a seal, *vitulisque marinis*, which was noted for its sleepy nature.⁴⁰

*Raedarum transitus arto vicorum in flexu et stantis convicia mandrae eripient
somnum Druso vitulisque marinis,*⁴¹
'the crossing of wagons in the narrow winding streets, the slanging of drovers
when brought to a stand, would make sleep impossible for a Drusus – or a sea-
calf'.

Drusus has been identified with Claudius, probably because of comments about his habit of excessive sleeping in Suetonius,⁴² but, the concept/allusion used here is very similar to one used by Seneca, where the trumpets were loud enough at the funeral for even Claudius to hear them.⁴³ The name Drusus presents problems, and Speyer

³⁹ J.D.Duff, *D. Ivnii Iuvenalis satvrae xiv*, 1900 note 268 p.165, and note that Drusus is applicable as a name to Nero Drusus, Germanicus, Claudius, Nero and Tiberius' son Drusus Nero. The date of Juvenal's birth is contentious, but this exercise will follow Highet, who plausibly argues the case for circa AD60. G.Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist*, 1954, p.4ff.

⁴⁰ See Pliny.NH.9.42, *nullum animal graviore somno premitur*; Duff (1900) note 238 p.165, also NH 2.55,56 and 146; Suet.Aug.90 the *pellem vituli marini* Augustus carried with him everywhere as a protection against thunder and lightning. Also Juvenal, *The Satires*, trans. N.Rudd,, 1991.

⁴¹ Juv.Sat.3.236-8, trans G.G. Ramsay, *Juvenal & Persius*, 1979.

⁴² Suet.Claud.8, 23. See Juvenal *The Sixteen Satires* trans. P.Green, 1974, note24 p.103. Also see Sen.Apoc.5.3 for reference to Claudius' voice being like the bark of a sea-beast.

⁴³ Sen.Apoc.12.1. Seneca also alludes to a problem of deafness, discussed later.

has suggested that it is an anagram giving *surdo* as a possibility,⁴⁴ but on the balance of three pieces of ‘evidence’, the alleged deafness, the somnolence and the reference to seals,⁴⁵ it seems legitimate to accept Juvenal is referring to Claudius.

Juvenal attacks Claudius again:

*minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae boletus, siquidem unius praecordia pressit
ille senis tremulumque caput descendere iussit in caelum et longa manantia
labra saliva,*

‘less guilty therefore will Agrippina’s mushroom be deemed, seeing that it only
stopped the breath of one old man, and sent down his palsied head and
slobbering lips to heaven’.⁴⁶

The use of *tremulumque caput* may be reflecting an exaggeration of *Apoc.* 5.2 *caput mouere*, whilst Suetonius may be pushing the ‘description’ even further.⁴⁷ The description of the saliva discharge from the mouth is echoed more savagely by Suetonius,⁴⁸ while Seneca, unusually, does not mention this peculiar symptom, leading one to question whether the picture initially came from another source; Juvenal gives a full description of the saliva discharge from Claudius’ mouth, which he could not have seen for himself, bearing in mind he was probably born c60AD. The question is where this information originally came from. Highest places Juvenal in Rome during the reign of Domitian (81-96AD),⁴⁹ twenty-seven years after the death of Claudius, where he could hear personal observations on the deceased emperor’s physical symptoms – not that one should take eyewitness accounts as being reliable. Suetonius’ version uses *spumante*, which one would normally associate with the sea, blood or animals, but he connects it to *ira*, something Juvenal also did at *Sat.* 13.14 to the stomach churning anger of *spumantibus ardens*

⁴⁴ See Duff (1900) note 238 p.165; *surdus* translates as deaf, insensible, or if relating to sound, as indistinct or faint. It may be a pun where deafness or indistinct sounds are related to Claudius (‘Drusus’). N.Rudd, E. Courtney ed. *Juvenal, Satires I, III, X*, 1982 p.65 cites Pliny *NH* 9.19 for Pliny on seals, and states *Druso* (dat.) refers to Claudius.

⁴⁵ See following section on Physiognomics for explanation of importance of the seal motif regarding Claudius.

⁴⁶ *Juv.Sat.* 6.620-24.

⁴⁷ *Suet.Claud.* 30 uses *tremulum maxime*.

⁴⁸ *Suet.Claud.* 30, *ira turpior spumante rictu, uentibus naribus*.

⁴⁹ Highet (1954) p.5 and note 6 p.235. *silentia rodunt atque exporrecto trutinantur verba labello*, *Pers.Sat.* III.80-3. I think it is too far a jump to see any tangible link to Juvenal’s Claudius. The gap in the satirical tradition from Persius to Lucilius and Horace by-passes the Julio-Claudians (see M.Coffey *Roman Satire*, 1976 p.4ff. and n2; *Quint.Instit.* 10.1.93), so the motif of the lips wet with long drips of saliva may come from the comic tradition of Plautus and Terence.

visceribus. Juvenal does not attach *ira* to his image of Claudius, merely *senis*, which may correspond with the image in the minds of those who saw Claudius at the end of his principate. Seneca *Apoc.*6.2 writes of Claudius' extreme anger, *excandesit hoc loco Claudius et quanto potest murmure irascitur*. There is no mention of any *spumante*, nor *longa manantia labia saliva*; Seneca connects anger and emotional outbursts only to dysfluency, or at least speech being made incomprehensible. If Juvenal is accurate with the basis of his satirical description, then Seneca was not his source, and therefore he must have had another source with this additional or new observation – or else, it is entirely spurious. The source Juvenal used for this specific description is not evident in any of the other accounts. But if it is a fictitious characteristic then it ceases to become satire targetted directly at Claudius; it can only be an indirect attack and then it would lose its bite. Suetonius, it seems, used Juvenal (or the same source as Juvenal) as a reference for this particular idiosyncrasy of Claudius. There is also the problem of feasibility– Juvenal links the shaking head and the long drools of saliva, but if the head was in motion then it is likely the drips would be shaken off, or Juvenal would probably have delighted in mentioning the disgusting prospect of the saliva swinging like a pendulum beneath Claudius' mouth. One interpretation could be that Juvenal was comparing Claudius to some old dog (a lapdog, bearing in mind the alleged influence of Messalina, Agrippina and Claudius' freedmen), one that was put out of its misery, but it seems possible that he was referring to two separate and mutually exclusive symptoms that he conflated to attack Claudius. There is a second possibility, that Juvenal represents some later tradition, based on oral transmission, forming or formed from, a prototype myth about Claudius' characteristics. A third interpretation is that Juvenal is describing the effects of poisoning, but this seems less likely, as Suetonius picked up the motif as idiosyncratic of Claudius.

Juvenal's predecessor, Turnus, writing in the reigns of Titus and Domitian, only survives in two lines, which refer to Nero using Locusta, as the poisoner of Britannicus.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Coffey (1976) p.119. See note 5 p.242 for citing by later sources including Martial 7.97,11.10; also see Tac.*Ann.*XIII.15, although he does attack wise men/philosophers with, *obstipo capite et figenyes lumine terram, murmura cum secum et rabiosa. silentia rodunt atque exporrecto trutinantur verba labello*, Pers.*Sat.*III.80-3. I think it is too far a jump to see any tangible link to Juvenal's Claudius.

Another possibility as a source for a dribbling motif is earlier satire, but Persius (AD34–62) portrays the virtue of saliva,⁵¹ which is used as an element to ward off the evil eye:

*frontemque atque uda labella infami digito et lustralibus ante salivis expiat,
urentis oculos inhibere perita,*
'she first, with her rebuking middle finger, applies the charm of lustrous spittle
to his forehead and slobbering lips'.⁵²

The negative connotation of a nodding head is also used by Persius as one of the results of sloth, debauchery and a wasteful life: *stertis adhuc? Laxumque caput conpage soluta oscitat hesternum dissutis undique malis?* 'And are you snoring still? Yawning off the debauch of yesterday, with a head unhinged and nodding, and jaws gaping from ear to ear?'⁵³ Persius is describing someone having difficulty staying awake, which is probably not Claudius, but someone with similar characteristics. The significance is that Persius uses words that describe flaccid muscles, *laxum* with *caput*, as relaxed or disordered from drink – a lolling head, and *conpage solute* probably referring to a loose neck joint – but this can appear to be a nodding head which here is caused by excess drink. Claudius is accused of excessive drinking, and there is an outside possibility that his head tremor was a result of alcohol.

Persius describes the death of a man, and there is no mention of saliva, only food from the *laxis labris*, relaxed lips,⁵⁴ and he attacks wise men or philosophers 'who go about with their heads bent down, pinning their eyes to the ground, champing and muttering to themselves like mad dogs, balancing their words on protruded lip...' ⁵⁵ The use of *rabiosa* for 'mad dogs' carries an inference not only of behaviour, but also of the foam coming out of the mouth. There seems to be too great a jump required to make any tangible link to Juvenal's Claudius. The gap in the satirical

⁵¹ See Persius note 6 p.337; Pliny *NH*.28.4.22.

⁵² Pers.*Sat*.II.32-4; also IV.40, trans. Ramsay. In this ceremony the saliva is applied to a baby's forehead and lips, but this seems to be a separate tradition of the healing properties, which would be difficult to project on to Claudius.

⁵³ Pers.*Sat*.III.58-9 trans. Ramsay.

⁵⁴ Pers. *Sat*.III.88ff., the sequence of events bears some comparative factors with the death of Claudius. The earlier illness, the prescription of rest, the drinking of wine and a good meal followed by a shivering fit or convulsion and death. Nothing untoward, but it may confirm the veracity of the accounts of Claudius' death.

⁵⁵ Pers.*Sat*.III.80-3, trans. Ramsay.

tradition from Lucilius and Horace to Persius by-passes the Julio-Claudians,⁵⁶ so the motif of the lips wet with long drips of saliva may come from the comic tradition of Plautus and Terence.

Juvenal probably meant by *longa manantia labra saliva*, either an accurate portrayal of physical symptoms or an allusion to the words which came from Claudius' mouth like spittle, or dribbled out – a reference to possible symptoms of a stutter. Juvenal also uses *senis* to describe Claudius at the time of his death, an old man, and he does not use *senilis* to denote failing mental powers, nor does he use *senium*, old age with a meaning comparable to decay or decline. In some respects it is interesting what Juvenal does not tell us, because he says nothing about lameness, or tremor. He chooses his words carefully to say that Claudius was an old man, not an old fool; the illness was connected to the passage of time, not senility. Juvenal taps into a physiognomic portrait of Claudius with the use of the seal motif.⁵⁷

4.1d Tacitus - *Annals*

Tacitus includes only two references to Claudius' ill health, but may be significant. *In tanta mole curarum valetudine adversa corripitur, refovendisque viribus mollitia caeli et salubritate aquarum Sinuessam pergit.*⁵⁸ Tacitus places this event in AD54, with Claudius deeply worried about two factors, the spat between Agrippina and Domitia Lepida (on who would 'control' Nero), an argument that resulted in a death sentence for the latter woman, and his concerns about the succession of Britannicus.⁵⁹ Tacitus is not clear whether it is Narcissus or Claudius who had some sort of breakdown, due to the stress of the situation; if it refers to Claudius he does not say whether it was due to disease or psychological factors – the probability is some form of physiological problem exacerbated by stress.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ See Coffey (1976) p.4ff. and n2; Quint.*Instit.*10.1.93.

⁵⁷ Physiognomics are discussed in section 4.4.

⁵⁸ Tac.*Ann.*XII.66.

⁵⁹ Tac.*Ann.*XII.65.

⁶⁰ Woodman, and Grant translate XI.66 as referring to Narcissus, and Jackson keeps strictly to the text and uses "his health broke down", and followed by Tacitus outlining Agrippina's plan to murder

Once Claudius had departed Rome to recuperate, Agrippina planned to murder her husband, using Locusta to supply the potion,⁶¹ which was applied to a mushroom by Halotus, *nec vim medicaminis statim intellectam, socordiane an Claudii vinolentia: simul soluta alvus subvenisse videbatur*, ‘though as a result of his natural sluggishness or intoxication, the effects of the drug were not immediately felt by Claudius’.⁶² A bowel evacuation removed the imminent danger to Claudius, so the physician Xenophon administered another and quicker acting poison.⁶³ Either by luck, or by having an iron constitution, the first dose of poison did not work which points to Claudius not being as enfeebled as the sources would have us believe. Tacitus leaves no other option open and no other report for the death of Claudius – he did not die of natural causes and therefore, according to this version, the emperor was the victim of the schemes of Agrippina.⁶⁴ Tacitus implies that it was a substantial effort to kill a weak and frail old man.

Claudius. The opportunity presenting itself can be either Claudius being out of the way allowing plans to be set in motion, or the same could work for Narcissus being away from Rome. It seems more likely to be the former.

⁶¹ Tac.*Ann.*XII.66.

⁶² Tac.*Ann.*XII.67; see n1 p.414-5, where Jackson discusses Claudius’ constitutional lethargy which makes him an unsuitable subject for a drug inducing delirium citing Livy XXVI.14, ‘filled with food and wine, their veins made the poison less effectual in hastening death’(trans F.G. Moore). But the reference in Tacitus seems to point to Claudius’ dullness of mind more than his sloth, and that the quality of *socordia* (torpor, indolence or stupidity) was usually applied to Claudius: *Tiberius callidior, Claudius socordior, Nero impurior*, ‘Tiberius more cunning, Claudius more lazy/weak-minded, Nero more vile’, Apoll.Sidon.*Ep.*7, cited by Jackson. The bowel evacuation contradicts the description of natural constitutional sluggishness, because if a ‘foreign’ chemical was introduced to his body it elicited a quick reaction and rejection. The use of *intellectam* implies a lack of mental awareness. The result is unclear exactly what Tacitus means here referring to either physical or mental inertia.

⁶³ Tac.*Ann.*XII.67, where by a subterfuge Xenophon placed a poisoned feather down Claudius throat, trying to help the *princeps* vomit.

⁶⁴ Tac.*Ann.*XII.66.ff.

4.1e Suetonius – *divus Claudius*

Suetonius says very little about Claudius' birth, but adds some detail on his childhood and adolescence, during which a substantial illness, or illnesses, troubled Claudius for some considerable time:

*Infans autem relictus a patre ac per omne fere pueritiae atque adolescentiae tempus variis et tenacibus morbis conflictatus est, adeo ut animo simul et corpore hebebato ne progressa quidem aetate ulli publico privatoque muneri habilis existimaretur.*⁶⁵

'He lost his father when he was still an infant, and throughout almost the whole course of his childhood and youth he suffered so severely from various obstinate disorders that the vigour of both his mind and his body was dulled, and even when he reached the proper age he was no thought capable of any public or private business'.

It may be significant that the youthful health of Claudius' mind *and* body was affected, and Suetonius is careful to draw a distinction between the two, even if the consequence of the illness affected both parts. There may be some relevance in that Drusus died early, and in the narrative this is combined with subsequent childhood illnesses by Suetonius – he does not separate the two factors.

As part of the unspecified condition, and the inference is due to cold intolerance, Claudius wore a cloak (*palliolatus*) which reflected his weak health (*valetudinem*) when attending the gladiatorial games with Germanicus.⁶⁶ This would give an age for Claudius up to twenty-seven years old, but Suetonius places this event before

⁶⁵ Suet.*Claud.*II.1, trans. Rolfe. Hurley p.68 cites *uariis et tenacibus morbis* as 'too vague to serve as a foundation for speculation about C's lifelong physical problems. Ill health may have been the routine excuse for keeping him from public view (see *Claud.*iv.1-40) and led to reports of chronic illness'. If it is as Hurley argues, and his health improved later (see *Claud.*xxxi), then this would not explain how he managed his close ties with the *equites*, or his very public consulship with Gaius.

⁶⁶ Suet.*Claud.*II.2, *ob hanc eandem valetudinem et gladiatorio munere, quod simul cum fratre memoriae patris edebat, palliolatus novo more praesedit*, 'It was also because of his weak health that contrary to all precedent he wore a cloak when he presided at the gladiatorial games which he and his brother gave in honour of their father' trans. Rolfe. Note that *valetudine* can refer to a general state of health, or imply weak or good health. In this case one can assume it means 'weak', hence the necessity to wear a *palliolum*, although the Greek cloak would stand out among the white Roman togas at the games. There would be a direct contrast of the infirm scholar to the Roman soldier, Germanicus. Augustus issued instructions to ensure Romans wore togas in the Forum and not a cloak, Suet.*Aug.*XL.5.

Claudius received the *toga virilis*.⁶⁷ One may deduce, if Suetonius' chronology is reliable here, that Claudius was younger than fourteen/fifteen at the Games, making Germanicus at most nineteen/twenty:

*et togae virilis die circa mediam noctem sine sollemni officio lectica in Capitolium latus est.*⁶⁸

'and on the day when he assumed the gown of manhood he was taken in a litter to the Capitol about midnight without the usual escort'.

The views of Antonia are given no real context (other than that the report follows Claudius' achievement in the liberal arts, *disciplinis liberalibus*) and no chronological framework, except that they appear in the chapter after Claudius received the *toga virilis*, which may have no relevance other than structural:

*Mater Antonia portentum eum hominis dictitabat, nec absolutum a natura, sed tantum inchoatum: ac si quem socordiae argueret, stultiores aiebat filio suo Claudio.*⁶⁹

'His mother Antonia often called him 'a monster of a man, not finished but merely begun by Dame Nature'; and if she accused anyone of dullness, she used to say that he was "a bigger fool than her son Claudius"'.

The problem is where to place this verbal attack; although there is no context given for Antonia's outburst it is not entirely feasible to come so soon after Claudius' birth. The phrase *portentum hominis* may provide the key, as it may refer to something similar to the English 'creature' rather than 'monster'. The implication could be he was 'a creature started but unfinished by Nature'.⁷⁰ The reference cannot therefore

⁶⁷ Much depends on whether one believes that Claudius' receiving of the *toga virilis* was delayed because of Augustus waiting to see the outcome of Claudius' development and therefore he received it later than was normal, or an illness meant that the family could delay no longer and pushed Claudius through the ceremony within the requisite timeframe albeit in an irregular manner – the matter of time period is not raised by Claudius detractors as a technical deficiency, only the fact that he went at night.

⁶⁸ Suet. *Claud.* II.2. Germanicus was adopted by Augustus in AD4, and campaigned virtually continuously from AD7 until his death in AD17; Games held in honour of his father, a *Claudii*, would make more sense when both sons were also *Claudii*, but there is no evidence either way, but before AD4 would place the Games before Claudius was given the *toga virilis*.

⁶⁹ Suet. *Claud.* III.2, trans. Rolfe.

⁷⁰ Hurley (2001) p72 has *portentum* carry bestial elements within a man, 'a creature not wholly human', and also cites Pliny *NH.* 11.272 on the decision to bring up a monstrosity in Egypt, a human with extra eyes at the back of its head; and the insult in Cic. *Phil.* 14.8 *portentum*, *L. Antonius, insigne odium omnium hominum*. The reference is to the actions of Lucius Antonius, where Roman population of Parma 'were put to death in the most cruel ways by that vile wretch and monster Lucius Antonius', trans. Kerr. There is a possible connection to Claudius being accused of killing members of Augustus' family (Sen. *Apoc.* 10.4, 11.5), and a negative link to M. Antony through Antonia. Pliny *NH.* X.176 refers to offspring being produced unfinished, unlike those of horses, cows, or sheep; the group

apply to his birth, because all infants are unfinished human beings, and that means if Claudius had a severe childhood illness that caused any physical deformation, then it would be more significant as he approached adulthood i.e. no hope of remission or recovery. All infants could be construed as unfinished, but disease could affect some and not others which produces a two-tier categorisation for infancy, whilst Suetonius is referring to the process of growing up. He states that Claudius is 'unfinished' when he has reached what would be the 'finished' state - adulthood. The inference is that Antonia is possibly speaking about Claudius when closer to being fully grown rather than a small child – his various and lingering childhood illnesses are unlikely to be referred to as Nature not finishing her business while they are in progress (although on one hand a stubborn disease could be described as Nature not having run its path); the possibility that Antonia is referring to mental abilities is lessened by her reported comment, *stultiorem aiebat filio suo Claudio*.⁷¹ This euphemism automatically provides a scale of absurdity where Claudius is not the worst, the possibility is there for someone to be more ridiculous. Suetonius has placed the alleged *socordiae* after the physical factors, possibly as a counterweight to Claudius' achievements in *Claud.III.1*, and he has delineated a difference between the two, which is not lessened by the internal connection between clauses reflected by the use of *ac*. The two factors are being combined to distil in one sentence the common perception of the problem with Claudius; it is less likely they are the same characteristic.⁷²

includes only the lioness, the bear and the fox – see the later section in this text on physiognomics for connection of Julio-Claudians to the physical attributes of lions. Pliny writes that the mother needs to 'warm their offspring and shape them by licking them', (*NH.X.176*), which does not reflect well on Antonia; according to the reported quotation in Suetonius, she patently failed in her duty as a mother – which does not seem to be the initial meaning. There is not room here to expand this idea further.

⁷¹ Suet.*Claud.III.2*, it is inconceivable that Antonia would refer to her son as Claudius; she would use the *praenomen* Tiberius, which is exactly what Augustus did; see Suet.*Claud.IV*. See Hurley (2001) p72, states the use of 'Tiberius' within the imperial family until becoming 'Claudius' as *princeps*.

⁷² Sen.*Apoc.5.2-3* may be a forerunner of Suetonius' version where the motif of Claudius as not really human but closer to the monsters that Hercules feared is outlined, with his strange shape, unusual gait and seal-like voice. Both versions, with animal-human hybrids, are drawing on physiognomics (discussed in 3.5) and literary allusions to make political and moral commentary about Claudius. The line that most closely corresponds to Antonia's assertion is, *diligentius intuenti uisus est quasi hom*, Sen.*Apoc.5.4*, where the idea of an almost human entity is introduced. The interpretation of a man as *incohatus* is problematic, because if it is *incomplete* then he is not human by definition, he becomes half-human or even sub-human. If *incohatus* means *unfinished*, then the same difficulty emerges; this pushes Suetonius' interpretation closer to Seneca where the allusion is towards the bestial. This may be a double-edged sword; Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Myth and society in ancient Greece*, 1988 p.207-36 for discussion of theories of Lame Kingship (which encompasses the 'limping tongue' and may be relevant here) and the further correlation with seals can provide a positive interpretation of a man with special gifts. Moreover the influence of Ovid in *Metamorphoses*, where men and women are transformed into animals by the gods, and in the transformation lose the power of speech, which is represented by silence or animal calls, may also work on the level of physicality where animals have alien shapes in human physiology. Therefore it is very difficult to be certain that Suetonius is accurate

The letters from Augustus to Livia require examination in more detail,⁷³ but there is the pertinent factor that Augustus deliberated over whether Claudius had his five senses intact, and if so then there is no reason why Claudius should not follow the same steps as Germanicus – if he was defective in mind and body then he should not be given a position which would expose the family to public ridicule.⁷⁴

*Nam si est artius, ut ita dicam, holocleros, quid est quod dubitemus, quin per eosdem articulos et gradus producendus sit, per quos frater eius productus sit? Sin autem ἡλαττώσθαι sentimus eum et βεβλάφθαι καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρτιότητα, praebenda materia deriendi et illum et nos no est hominibus τὰ τοιαῦτα σκώπτειν καὶ μυκηρίζειν εἰωθόσιν.*⁷⁵

For if he be sound and so to say complete, what reason have we for doubting that he ought to be advanced through the same grades and steps through which his brother has been advanced? But if we realize that he is wanting and defective in soundness of body and mind, we must not furnish the means of ridiculing both him and us to a public which is wont to scoff at and deride such things.

Augustus is worried initially about Claudius' senses, which could mean his intellect or his speech, but if they are fully functioning then Claudius is eligible for office. The factor that would prevent Claudius holding a magistracy are being found to be incomplete by being deficient in both mind *and* body.⁷⁶ The key here is that any inadequate physical feature alone would not bar Claudius from office, only an unsound mind would prove an insurmountable handicap for Augustus in letting Claudius progress. One can understand Augustus' predicament, as he waits to see if the youth grows out of his ill health,⁷⁷ because if Claudius were to be *socordia* then he would be incapable of discharging his duties in the prescribed manner. It is the

in his report of Antonia's outburst; it may be that he put the motif from Seneca inside a calumny, or he exaggerated her embarrassment at her youngest son being less perfect than Germanicus, but both paths would lead to Claudius being seen as *incohatus*. See Hurley (2001) p72 for one explanation of *incohatus*, where the concept was that 'human beings give birth to fully formed offspring but some animals do not', Pliny *NH.* 10.176 – but this argument this would imply that if there was a problem with Claudius then it casts serious doubt upon Antonia as a mother, and a human, doubt cast by Antonia herself.

⁷³ Suet.*Claud.*IV.1-7. Discussed in chapter 6.

⁷⁴ Suet.*Claud.*IV.1.

⁷⁵ Suet.*Claud.*IV.1.

⁷⁶ Augustus may provide a contemporary first century definition for *incohatus*.

⁷⁷ Augustus letters were probably written before Claudius was given the *toga virilis* c4AD.

combination of an unsound mind and body that would be open to ridicule in Rome,⁷⁸ which is exactly what is represented in the *Apocolocyntosis*. This would explain Augustus' desire to keep Claudius out of sight at the Circus, or have him chaperoned at the banquet for the priests at the *ludis Martialibus*. The letters of Augustus show a focus on the intellectual aspects and an acknowledgement of some form of physical deficiency either progressive or persistent concerning Claudius.

*Tiberium adulescentem ego vero, dum tu aberis, cotidie invitabo ad cenam, ne solus cenet cum suo Sulpicio et Athenodoro. qui vellem diligentius et minus μετεώρως deligeret sibi aliquem, cuius motum et habitum et incessum imitaretur. misellus ἀτυχεῖ nam ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις, ubi non aberravit eius animus, satis apparet ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ εὐγεία.*⁷⁹

'I certainly shall invite the young Tiberius to dinner every day during your absence, to keep him from dining alone with his friends Sulpicius and Athenodorus. I do wish that he would choose more carefully and in a less scatter-brained fashion someone to imitate in his movements, bearing, and gait. The poor fellow is unlucky; for in important matters, where his mind does not wander, the nobility of his character is apparent enough'.

Tiberius repealed only one decree of three passed by the senate concerning Claudius, to pay for Claudius' house to be rebuilt, *excusante Tiberio imbecillitatem eius ac damnum liberalitate sua resarsurum pollicente*.⁸⁰ That Tiberius should choose only to prevent public money being used for Claudius' benefit rather than stop him conversing with the *consulares* is peculiar if one accepts Augustus' reservations. This implies an acceptance by Tiberius that Claudius' faculties were at the very least adequate to be seen as part of the group of consulars, and he is more worried about being seen to use public funds for a private matter. Suetonius uses the word *imbecillitas*,⁸¹ which can refer to either a feebleness of the body *or* the mind, but it can also refer to ability in terms of impotency, imbecility or powerlessness. If Suetonius is using the latter meaning then it makes Tiberius' decision even more outlandish if he can accept Claudius' abilities. As Claudius had no official position it might look corrupt to use public funds for your family, but to offer the excuse of Claudius' inability to hold office for rejecting the decree then allow him to continue

⁷⁸ Suet.*Claud.*IV.2.

⁷⁹ Suet.*Claud.*IV.5, trans Rolfe.

⁸⁰ Suet.*Claud.*VI.2, 'since Tiberius urged Claudius' infirmity as a reason, and promised that he would make the loss good through his own generosity', trans Rolfe. The Senate had voted Claudius to be a member of the priests of Augustus, that his house should be rebuilt at public expense after a fire, and he should be allowed to give his opinion among the *consulares*, contrast this with n75.

⁸¹ Also see Suet.*Tib.*XI.1; *Gaius*.XLIV.1 for Suetonius' description of the weakness of the body.

talking to public officials might recognise a degree of ability. In the sources that factor is relegated by the combination of negative intellectual and body components, which one could term the *incohatus* factor.

A possible contrast is shown by the reaction of Gaius when Claudius was among the legates sent to congratulate the *princeps* on the defusing of the conspiracy of Lepidus and Gaeticulus.⁸² Gaius was angry that his uncle of all people had been sent as though he were a child needing a guardian. There are two possibilities – either Gaius feels ridiculed by the sending of someone faintly ridiculous, or there is a lack of self-confidence displayed by Gaius in recognition of the intellect of Claudius. To add weight to the second possibility, the incident occurred after Claudius had been consul with Gaius, and it is very unlikely he would choose a buffoon as his partner in office and Gaius would be well aware of his uncle's capabilities. To erode this possibility, Suetonius includes a version that provokes comment, where Claudius is thrown fully clothed into the Rhine. Gaius' apparent lack of self-confidence did not prevent his arranging for Claudius to give his opinion last amongst the *consulares* – Suetonius writes that Claudius was asked last by way of humiliation,⁸³ but the senate had allowed Claudius to speak with the consulars as an honour.⁸⁴ If Claudius was an ex-consul, then it would be according to normal practice; as the most recent ex-consul it would be following precedent to be last - having the last word on matters is not necessarily a snub.⁸⁵ The accusation of some form of enfeebled mind becomes less plausible, and whatever illness Suetonius reported Claudius had suffered from as a child, it did not prevent Claudius travelling to *Germania*.

⁸² Suet.*Claud.*IX.1; also see *Gaius*.VIII.1, XXIV.3, Rolfe note b p.16.

⁸³ Suet.*Claud.*IX.2. Augustus occasionally asked for senator's opinions not in the order or rank (ex-censors, consuls, praetors, aediles and senators), established by precedent of the *lex Julia*, Sen.*Apoc.*9.2, Suet.*Aug.*XXXV.4. Levick (1990) p27 notes Tiberius' problem with the senate wanting to know the *princeps*' views on matters before giving theirs; for the possibility of a positive interpretation see n16 p202. Hurley (2001) p92 is less charitable, and cites Gaius enforcing the order in Dio.59.8.6, and *Apoc.*9.2.

⁸⁴ Suet.*Claud.*VI.2. and *Claud.*V for the award of consular regalia.

⁸⁵ In the Republic the normal order of speaking was *princeps senatus*, *consulares*, *censorii*, *praetorii*, *aedilicii*, *tribunicii*, *quaestorii*, and the consul called for opinions in the order he had set out in January, and this order remained into the principate, Plin. *Ep.* viii.14.19, ix.13.13 gives a list of speakers, ix.13.20 demonstrates that the order was rigidly adhered to; in a debate Cato was the penultimate speaker, and Caesar spoke last and delivered a blistering speech, Cic.*ad Att.*12.21; *Phil.*5.17 tells of Octavian being allowed to give his opinion with the praetors; *Res Gestae* 1.1. For references see L. Schmitz, 'Senatus', *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 1898 p.1016-1022. Hurley (2001) p.85 argues that the senate probably foresaw a career for Claudius, and see Dio 56.17.3 where Claudius was permitted to attend the senate before being a member, and given the honour of voting before ex-praetors once he became a quaestor.

In a minor example, Suetonius recounts that people took advantage of Claudius' *patientia*,⁸⁶ by even grabbing on to his foot to gain his attention – there is no evidence as to which foot, which leads one to question the severity of any disability such as a club foot or a withered leg.⁸⁷ If that were the case, the limb would be described as such; it would really try Claudius' patience if they grabbed the bad leg. Suetonius does not discriminate between good or bad, which leaves one with a graphic description of the event – in practical terms if the supplicants held the normal leg then all the strain would be on the disabled right leg, and conversely if they held the infirm leg it would probably have drawn some form of comment, although Suetonius has probably not recorded this incident in order to ridicule Claudius, so one is left with an indecisive conclusion.

The journey to Britain in AD43 should not be dismissed lightly; Claudius spent six months away from Rome, and endured a difficult sea-voyage en route to Britain.⁸⁸ There is no adverse commentary upon this event, no reports that he suffered physically on the arduous trip, or was unfit to travel in the first place. On returning to Rome, Claudius celebrated a triumph for his victory in Britain, and rode in a chariot in full view of the public during the procession,⁸⁹ which flies in the face of Augustus' misgivings about Claudius in the imperial box at the Circus. Claudius would be wearing a *paludamentum* or a *sagum* that might hide his right leg and possibly one of his arms, but any problem with a quaking or convulsive head movement would be apparent for *all* to see. Whilst acknowledging the precariousness of arguing from silence, evidence for such a distinctive feature is lacking, and therefore the triumph casts doubt on the claims of a *constant* head movement,⁹⁰ at least in AD43/4. For any imperfection to elicit no comment, at the moment of his greatest, and only, triumph is

⁸⁶ Suet.*Claud.*XV.3, ...*ut discedentem e tribunali non solum voce revocarent, sed et lacinia togae retenta, interdum pede apprehenso detinerent*. 'they would not only call him back when he left the tribunal, but would catch hold of the fringe of his robe, and sometimes of his foot, and thus detain him', trans Rolfe.

⁸⁷ For possible references to clubfoot in Hippocrates, Aristotle and Apollonius, and Apollodorus see M.Rose, *The Staff of Oedipus*, 2003 p.14-15.

⁸⁸ Suet.*Claud.*XVII.2.

⁸⁹ Suet.*Claud.*XVII.3, *Currum eius Messalina uxor carpento secuta est*....

⁹⁰ Seneca connects the head movement to speech. Dio connects the head and hand movements together, and some historians have taken this head movement at face value, which will be discussed later.

extraordinary – one can imagine that this would be one time when his detractors would hardly restrain themselves from the opportunity to denigrate the whole affair.

The problems with the grain supply after a drought impelled a crowd of people to stop Claudius in the Forum, and he was subjected to abuse and bread missiles– the level of unrest was such that he barely reached the Palatine.⁹¹ Although Claudius was known to walk through the Forum, and it is likely he was on foot on this occasion hence his close shave with the mob, he may have been slowed down by being in his litter. Suetonius is not clear, but he may be working on two levels here, to implant an image of the emperor hobbling across the Forum chased by a baying mob, and secondly to comment on the stupidity of the people who are angrily throwing away the very supplies of which there is a shortage. It does not seem possible that Suetonius is trying to demonstrate the seriousness of the situation by having the people throw away their lifeline, a variation on the hunger strike.

At gladiatorial shows, Claudius behaved in a manner that was frowned upon by Suetonius:

*Nec ullo spectaculi genere communior aut remissior erat adeo ut oblatos victoribus aureos prolata sinistra pariter cum vulgo voce digitisque numeraret...*⁹²

‘Now there was no form of entertainment at which he was more familiar and free, even thrusting out his left hand, as the commons did, and counting aloud on his fingers the gold pieces which were paid to the victors....’

The explanation for Claudius’ apparent slovenliness is not easy to ascertain. The use of his left hand may reflect Augustus’ worries about Claudius keeping the wrong sort of company which had a detrimental effect on his manners;⁹³ alternatively it could be that if his right hand was weaker due to disease or illness he may have preferred to use his left, or that there was some form of cerebral-manual conflict.⁹⁴ It should be noted that Claudius was relaxed at the Games, and as a consequence he counted the

⁹¹ Suet.*Claud.*XVIII.2.

⁹² Suet.*Claud.*XXI.5, trans. Rolfe; see G.E.R. Lloyd, ‘Right and Left in Greek Philosophy’, 1962 p.56-66.

⁹³ Suet.*Claud.*IV.3, 5.

⁹⁴ See W.H. Gaddes, *Learning Disabilities and Brain Function, A Neuropsychological Approach*, 1980 p.177-204. A discussion of these factors and their possible relevance to Claudius will be found in the ‘diagnostic’ chapter.

sums due to victors (out loud and on his fingers), possibly the fingers of his left hand.⁹⁵

Suetonius' much used description of Claudius contains his reading of many symptoms which have been used by modern historians to diagnose the disease from which Claudius may have suffered.⁹⁶

*Auctoritas dignitasque formae non defuit *et veterum* stanti vel sedenti ac praecipue quiescenti, nam et prolixo nec exili corpore erat et specie canitieque pulchra, opimis cervicibus; ceterum et ingredientum destituebant poplites minus firmi, et remisse quid vel serio agentem multa dehonestabant: risus indecens, ira turpior spumante rictu, umentibus naribus, praetera linguae titubantia caputque cum semper tum in quantulocumque actu vel maxime tremulum.*⁹⁷

'He possessed majesty and dignity of appearance, but only when he was standing still or sitting, and especially when he was lying down; for he was tall but not slender, with an attractive face, becoming white hair, and a full neck. But when he walked, his weak knees gave way under him and he had many disagreeable traits both in his lighter moments and when he was engaged in business; his laughter was unseemly and his anger still more disgusting, for he would foam at the mouth and trickle at the nose; he stammered besides and his head was very shaky at all times, but especially when he made the least exertion'.

This description cannot be taken at face value, because there is no indication of chronology or context; it does not correlate with the portrayal of the man who was acclaimed *princeps* after the murder of Gaius. Either Suetonius has compressed reported symptoms over time into one portrait, or he is providing evidence for some

⁹⁵ Levick (1990) p.14 proposed that Claudius was originally left-handed, and was changed over to being right-handed, but even if plausible this may prove to be too simplistic an explanation about the cause of his stutter as the evidence is being used in isolation. The hypothesis of N. Geschwind and A. Galaburda on the delay in foetal development of left hemisphere growth shows how this may affect speech and language processes, in T.J. Peters, B.Guitar, *Stuttering, an integrated approach to its Nature and Treatment*, 1991 p.32-3. Researchers had noted how left-handers whose dominant hand had been changed over were stutterers - but reversing the procedure made no difference, and there is no evidence that most stutterers were originally left-handers, Peters & Guitar p.32.

⁹⁶ Levick (1990) p.13-6; Scramuzza (1940) p.35-50; T. De Coursey Ruth, *The Problem of Claudius*, 1916, who sets out to produce a character study with chapters on Physical Characteristics; Sexual Instincts and Relations; Timidity and Cowardice; *Meteoria*; Cruelty; Humanity; Diagnosis and Conclusion; Eden (1984) p.73, 83, 88, 91-2, 94; Hurley (2001) p.10-11, 200-2; Momigliano (1962) p.2-3; Rice (2000) p.198-201; E.F.Leon 'The *Imbecillitas* of the Emperor Claudius', 1948 p. 82-3.

⁹⁷ Suet.*Claud.*XXX, trans. Rolfe; Petron.*Sat.*102 Eumolpus and Giton discuss methods of disguise, *numquid et crura in orbem pandere? numquid et talos ad terram deducere*, 'Or walk bow-legged? Or bend our ankles over to the ground', trans. M.Heseltine. * refers to problems of a text emendation, see Hurley (2001) p.200.

manner of disease progression from Claudius' previously reported physiological status. The symptoms of the shaking head, foam forming at the mouth, or a nasal discharge are not apparent in earlier descriptions, and are not present in the *Apocolocyntosis*, which may imply that they were not a constant problem.

In direct opposition to *Claud.*XXX, Suetonius tells the reader that Claudius' health improved once he became *princeps*:

*Valitudine sicut olim gravi ita princeps prospera usus est excepto stomachi dolore, quo se correptum etiam de consciscenda morte cogitasse dixit.*⁹⁸

'Though previously his health was bad, it was excellent while he was emperor except for attacks of heartburn, which he said all but drove him to suicide'.

The severe pains in the stomach are the only symptom that continued after Claudius became *princeps*, but there is no specific mention of his peculiar gait, or his stutter, which presumably are not seen as being a signs of ailing health, rather physical or mental peculiarities that cannot be reversed.

The alleged edict Claudius issued allowing for the breaking of wind at table, because he knew of someone who, because of their modesty, ran the risk of making themselves ill, may have some resonance with his own stomach problems.⁹⁹

Suetonius reports that Claudius was 'eager for food and drink at all times and in all places', *cibi vinique quocumque et tempore et loco appetentissimus*,¹⁰⁰ and this may reflect always being or feeling hungry, although it was reported that after a full meal he was forcibly made to vomit in order to relieve his stomach. Suetonius claims a feather was put down Claudius' throat whilst he was asleep on his back – this would be a dangerous and possibly life-threatening procedure, so it might be partially a literary invention.

⁹⁸ Suet.*Claud.*XXXI, trans. Rolfe.

⁹⁹ Suet.*Claud.*XXXII, see Sen.*Apoc.*4.3; Tac.*Ann.*12.67 for evacuation of the bowels.

¹⁰⁰ Suet.*Claud.*XXXIII.1.

*Nec temere umquam triclinio abscessit nisi distentus ac madens et ut statim supino ac per somnum hianti pinna in os inderetur ad exonerandum stomachum.*¹⁰¹

‘He hardly ever left the dining-room until he was stuffed and soaked; then he went to sleep at once, lying on his back with his mouth open, and a feather was put down his throat to relieve his stomach.’

Portraying the greedy and bloated figure of Claudius sleeping like a stuffed pig, who had to rely on the action of servants to relieve his self-inflicted discomfort, creates a vivid portrait of a decadent and self-absorbed ruler. This is a more dramatic portrait than saying that after a dinner for family and friends where his and other children were present, the emperor withdrew when the pain became unbearable. Having enjoyed the evening and the company Claudius was forced to relieve his suffering in private by making himself sick. There is a contradiction here regarding eating to excess and a constant physiological need for food, which will be explored in later sections.

Interrupted sleep was another problem for Claudius, in that he did not rest for long throughout the night, which resulted in his dozing off during the day. It is a significant symptom, and one mentioned by Suetonius in the manner of a report, and then as a (major?) failing in the dignity of a *princeps*:

*Somni brevissimi erat. nam ante mediam noctem plerumque vigilabat, ut tamen interdiu nonnumquam in iure dicendo obdormisceret vixque ab advocatis de industria vocem augentibus excitaretur.*¹⁰²

‘He slept but little at a time, for he was usually awake before midnight; but he would sometimes drop off in the daytime while holding court and could hardly be roused when the advocates raised their voices for the purpose’.

In a section devoted to Claudius’ cruel and bloodthirsty nature, Suetonius includes an aside that after gladiators had been felled by mutually inflicted fatal blows he had knives made from their swords for his use; *Cum par quoddam mutuis ictibus concidisset, cultellos sibi parvulos ex utroque ferro in usum fieri sine mora iussit.*¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Suet. *Claud.* XXXIII.1, trans. Rolfe.

¹⁰² Suet. *Claud.* XXXIII.2, trans. Rolfe.

¹⁰³ Suet. *Claud.* XXXIV.2. For their use as a treatment for epilepsy see Pliny *NH.* 28.33-4; Hurley (2001) p.210.

Hurley explains the potency behind the knives, it was because they had been dipped in human blood, and that epilepsy could be cured by eating animal meat with those knives.¹⁰⁴ Nero alleged Britannicus to be epileptic,¹⁰⁵ but Suetonius accuses Nero of lying about the boy's death being natural when he was poisoned. This casts a shadow over the veracity of Nero's comments on Britannicus' state of health. Even though the comments may be problematic, the request for the knives was likely to have been for Claudius' son, and not for Claudius himself, although one cannot exclude the possibility for now.¹⁰⁶

The account of Claudius' death in Suetonius shows differing versions of events; 'many say that as soon as he swallowed the poison he became speechless, and after suffering excruciating pain all night, died just before dawn. Some say that he first fell into a stupor, then vomited up the whole contents of his overloaded stomach, and was given a second dose, perhaps in a gruel, under pretence that he must be refreshed with food after his exhaustion, or administered in a syringe, as if he were suffering from a surfeit and required relief by that form of evacuation as well'.¹⁰⁷ Tacitus' version is slightly different again; having eaten the poisoned mushrooms 'his bowels too were relieved, and this seemed to have saved him' but not for long as Agrippina was thoroughly unhappy, and the physician Xenophon finished the deed with a poison-tipped feather 'under pretence of helping the emperor's efforts to vomit'.¹⁰⁸

Suetonius' treatment of Augustus may provide an additional model or outline relevant to his representation of Claudius. This hypothetical health model could work alongside the structural outline of the chapters the biographer already used for the *Lives* of the emperors.¹⁰⁹ Augustus was a bad sleeper waking three or four times a

¹⁰⁴ Hurley (2001) p.210.

¹⁰⁵ Suet.*Nero*.XXXIII.3.

¹⁰⁶ Hurley (2001) p.210, 'Perhaps C. wanted the knives because he thought that his motor dysfunction stemmed from epilepsy or that they could assist Britannicus, who allegedly suffered from it'. One can only assume that by the positioning of Claudius as the subject of the sentence, Hurley sees the former explanation as the most likely, although one cannot see why Claudius would think that.

¹⁰⁷ Suet.*Claud*.XLIV.2, trans. Rolfe.

¹⁰⁸ Tac.*Ann*. 12.67, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Tac.+Ann.+12.67> , 11/01/05.

¹⁰⁹ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p.10-5

night,¹¹⁰ and he used a closed litter when he was not consul, where the lack of sleep caused him to doze when being carried through the streets, or if a journey was held up.¹¹¹ He would also take a nap after his midday meal,¹¹² but the small portions at meal times,¹¹³ and the small amount of wine may reflect an austere nature – an excess of a pint of wine caused Augustus to vomit.¹¹⁴ In gratitude for his tending to Augustus during a severe bout of illness, the *princeps* raised money and a statue to Antonius Musa next to one of Aesculapius.¹¹⁵ The persistence of recurring disorders in Autumn and Spring caused Augustus an inflamed diaphragm, and he was unable to handle extremes of temperature.¹¹⁶ In winter, four tunics, a heavyweight toga, undershirt, chest protector, and bandaging of shins and thighs were the order of the day,¹¹⁷ which reflects an undercurrent of weakness, and may be residual from the severe illnesses he suffered as a youth in 46BC.¹¹⁸

With no sense of irony, Suetonius reports that Augustus carried a sealskin (*pellem vituli marinis*) to protect him against thunder and lightning.¹¹⁹ It is extraordinary that Claudius is compared unfavourably by Seneca and Juvenal to a sea beast (*marinis beluis*), which is exactly the creature the *princeps* carried for its protective and religious qualities. Claudius is ridiculed for having the characteristics of something that has positive qualities.

The forefinger of Augustus' right hand was so weak, that when it was numb and shrunken with the cold he could hardly write with it.¹²⁰ There is no mention of shivering or tremor, but he needed a rest for it – Claudius is ridiculed for his

¹¹⁰ Suet. *Aug.* LXXVIII.1.

¹¹¹ Suet. *Aug.* LXXVIII.2.

¹¹² Suet. *Aug.* LXXVIII.3.

¹¹³ Suet. *Aug.* LXXVI.1.

¹¹⁴ Suet. *Aug.* LXXVII.

¹¹⁵ Suet. *Aug.* LIX.

¹¹⁶ Suet. *Aug.* LXXXI.1-2.

¹¹⁷ Suet. *Aug.* LXXXII, which also describes hot salt water and sulphur baths to plunge hands and feet into.

¹¹⁸ Suet. *Aug.* VIII.1, it is tempting to compare the symptoms of the two young *princeps*, and raise the possibility that they are the same, but there is not enough evidence collected here to enable a rigorous analysis of Augustus' condition. This section is a comparison of how Suetonius has treated similar ailments, not to produce a secondary diagnosis.

¹¹⁹ Suet. *Aug.* XC. ref to Sen. *Apoc.* 5-7; also Vegetius IV.16 *vocantur autem a marinis beluis musculi*.

¹²⁰ Suet. *Aug.* LXXX, and the chapters to LXXXIII describes Augustus various maladies in detail.

difficulty using his hand by Seneca. The difference between Augustus' and Claudius' lameness may be a question of degree and cause, but only Augustus is reported as being able to do something to counter the weakness, 'he was not very strong in his left hip, thigh and leg, and even limped slightly at times; but he strengthened them with sand and reeds'.¹²¹ As will be discussed later Claudius must have had some muscle strengthening for the greater period of his life, but probably not an active process like Augustus'.

Nicolaus of Damascus writes in his panegyric of Augustus that the youth's movements were curtailed by his mother. Even after gaining the *toga virilis*, he went to the temples on the right days, but he went at night, 'since he had disturbed many women by his fine appearance and by the brilliance of his lineage'.¹²² There may be a parallel account where Augustus was also sick and received his *toga virilis* at night. The occasion refers to the time before Caesar went to Libya in 46BC,¹²³ around the time when Augustus was chronically sick. Claudius had to receive his *toga virilis* at night because of his illness, but both writers chronicle the men being kept apart from others. The significance of the observation is that both Augustus and Claudius are set apart from the common herd. The ancient historians are much more sympathetic, or less critical, of Augustus than of Claudius.

There are similarities of some of the symptoms in Suetonius but he is less critical of their results. There may be two reasons for this; Nero's strategy to blacken Claudius' name and the fact that Suetonius was writing in the reign of Hadrian. Contemporary problems may have affected the choice of material and how it was handled, and that there were echoes of Hadrian in the *Lives* of other emperors.¹²⁴ 'Augustus at times may be seen as a model for Hadrian',¹²⁵ and this may partially explain why Suetonius

¹²¹ Suet. *Aug.* LXXX, trans. Rolfe.

¹²² Nic. *Aug.* V.(12) trans. J. Bellemore, Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, 1984, see p.77 for references in Ovid *Fasti* to temples being closed, but as Augustus had duties as *pontifex* the author must be mistaken. OCD³ p.1041-2 for Nicolaus' works, and depending on which date one follows, 25-20BC or AD14, will affect how one interprets any similarities; See Levick (1990) p.16 for Claudius' marriages into aristocratic families.

¹²³ Nic. *Aug.* VI.(14).

¹²⁴ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p.198-9, who draws parallels between Tiberius, Nero and Hadrian.

¹²⁵ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p.199-200, identifies similarities between Augustus and Hadrian in the outline of traditional values, adherence to Roman religion, the toga as formal dress, military discipline

would treat Augustus sympathetically, especially as he would still be working as Hadrian's *ab epistulis* when he wrote these chapters. Claudius was not chosen as a positive *exemplum* nor favoured by Suetonius' outlook, as 'The *Caesars* looks back from an age of security to the follies and misfortunes of past generations, and beyond them to the monumental achievements of Augustus'.¹²⁶

4.1f Dio Cassius– *Historiae Romanae*

Dio Cassius writes that Claudius had normal mental faculties, but qualifies this by implying that this was because they had been trained through constant practice– one could argue that he was as capable as everyone else because he had undergone the same educational training as his peers.

ἐγένετο δὲ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν οὐ φαῦλος ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν παιδείᾳ ἥσκητο, ὥστε καὶ συγγράψαι τινά, τὸ δὲ δὴ σῶμα νοσώδης, ὥστε καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ὑποτρέμειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ φωνήματι ἐσφάλλετο.¹²⁷

'In mental ability he was by no means inferior, as his faculties had been in constant training (in fact, he had actually written some historical treatises); but he was sickly in body, so that his head and hands shook slightly. Because of this his voice was also faltering (and he did not himself read all the measures that he introduced before the senate, but would give them to the quaestor to read, though at first, at least, he was generally present. Whatever he did read himself, he usually delivered sitting down').

In the same sentence, Dio adds a report that Claudius was visibly frail or ill, and this caused his head and hands to shake. It is only in Dio that the connection is made directly between the head and hands shaking – every other source mentions them as separate issues. In other words, Claudius' hand may have trembled, or his head shook, but not both together in a synchronised action triggered by a disease. The

revived under Hadrian or the first time since Augustus, provincial travel, control of freedmen and attention to the courts.

¹²⁶ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) p.201.

¹²⁷ Dio.60.2.1 trans. Cary.

physiological problems were, according to Dio, the causal factor for Claudius' faltering voice: 'but he was sickly in body', added to 'so that his head and hands shook slightly' results in 'because of this his voice was also faltering'.¹²⁸ Dio seems to make the connection between the quaking head and limbs and the shaky voice, which is a simplistic analysis, not shared elsewhere in the sources.

Claudius' constant susceptibility to illness in childhood is reiterated, alongside a continual fearfulness; both are factors for Claudius whilst growing up, but Dio says that this was his reason for feigning and exaggerating stupidity.¹²⁹

οὐ μέντοι καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὅσον ὑπὸ τε τῶν
ἐξελευθέρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἷς συνῆν, ἐκακύνετο.
περιφανέστατα γὰρ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐδουλοκρατήθη τε ἅμα καὶ
ἐγυναικοκρατήθη: ἅτε γὰρ ἐκ παίδων ἔν τε νοσηλείᾳ καὶ ἐν
φόβῳ πολλῷ τραφεῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς
ἀληθείας εὐήθειαν προσποιησάμενος, ὅπερ πού καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν
τῇ βουλῇ ὡμολόγησε.¹³⁰

'It was not these infirmities, however, that caused the deterioration of Claudius so much as it was the freedmen and the women with whom he associated; for he, more conspicuously than any of his peers, was ruled by slaves and by women. From a child he had been reared a constant prey to illness and great terror, and for that reason had feigned a stupidity greater than was really the case (a fact that he himself admitted in the senate)'.

The clause attached to the above on childhood ailments may provide a clue to Claudius' domestic life, for he spent a considerable time with Livia, then Antonia, and presumably as an adult he lived or circulated amongst the freedmen – although caution should be taken here because Dio's preceding sentence explains that the reason for Claudius' deterioration was not his physical and mental infirmities but the influence of the women and freedmen with whom he associated.¹³¹ His argument rests on a moral deterioration and Claudius' weakness of character, stupidity even, which was present from the outset, and this allowed others to seemingly have a free rein. Dio may provide evidence for Claudius' sickly childhood because of where he spent so much of it, with Livia and Antonia; it would be difficult for a boy without a

¹²⁸ Dio.60.2.2 trans. Cary.

¹²⁹ Dio.60.2.4.

¹³⁰ Dio.60.2.4, trans. Cary.

¹³¹ Dio.60.2.4.

father to spend time elsewhere, but it would explain how Augustus seems to know Claudius so well.

καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον τῇ τήθῃ τῇ Λιουΐα πολὺν δὲ καὶ τῇ
μητρὶ Ἀντωνία τοῖς τ' ἀπελευθέροις συνδιαιτηθεῖς, καὶ
προσέτι καὶ ἐν συνουσίαις γυναικῶν πλείοσι γενόμενος.¹³²
'and he had lived for a long time with his grandmother Livia and for another
long period with his mother Antonia and with the freedmen, and moreover he
had had many amours with women'.

Claudius introduced to the Romans the use of a covered chair, but Dio qualifies this by saying that before him Augustus and Tiberius had been carried on litters;¹³³ this use may signify the extent of Claudius' lameness when he became *princeps*, although he used a litter beforehand, as was reported by Josephus,¹³⁴ so there is little evidence of any real change. It may only reflect a personal preference, as Claudius will have spent enough time being carted about in probably very uncomfortable litters, and he may therefore have decided to make a change.

The wearing of a military cloak at gladiatorial games in the Praetorian Camp has echoes of the Games that Germanicus and Claudius held for Drusus,¹³⁵ but it reiterates two factors: the reference to being wrapped up against the effects of cold, and the complete lack of irony in the situation. The wretched Claudius of the sources dresses up as an army officer, and in effect claims to be the same as them. In reality this needs some credibility to work sensibly for Claudius. Along similar lines is Dio's claim that in being under the control of Messalina and freedmen, Claudius was easily bought off by the provision of women for his insatiable sexual appetites.¹³⁶ The time spent exclusively growing up with women and freedmen resulted in his not being able to behave like a free man but as a slave. If he was to be a slave to his passions is not clear, but Dio implies that the provision of sex allowed others to control the morally weak Claudius. The important point here is that Claudius' physical fitness for sexual activity is not being questioned, and if there was anything untoward it would be ripe for exploitation by the sources.

¹³² Dio.60.2.5, trans. Cary

¹³³ Dio.60.2.3.

¹³⁴ Jos. Ant. XIX.221.

¹³⁵ Dio 60.17.9.

¹³⁶ Dio 60.2.5-6.

‘Narcissus used to make sport openly of Claudius. Indeed, the report has it that on a certain occasion when Claudius was holding court and the Bithynians raised a great outcry against Junius Cilo, who had been their governor, claiming that he had taken enormous bribes, and the emperor, not understanding by reason of the noise they made, asked the bystanders what they were saying, Narcissus, instead of telling him the truth, said that they were expressing their gratitude to Junius. And Claudius, believing him, said: “Well, then, he should be procurator two years longer”’.¹³⁷

This paragraph demonstrates the problems of deciphering the sources on Claudius, even for small points. Dio states that Narcissus openly makes a fool of Claudius, without the latter realising, as shown by the opening and closing sentence. The example given by Dio clearly demonstrates that Claudius was influenced and mocked by his freedmen, and Dio has repeated the story from a source who has produced the anecdote probably with a similar interpretation of events.¹³⁸ The kernel of the paragraph is that Claudius could not understand what was being said, so he did not understand the Bithynians’ concerns – because he could not hear them. If there are a multitude of voices speaking at once, not even shouting out, but talking over each other, a stutterer can have difficulty separating out the frequencies of each voice so they sound like babble – stutterers find it more difficult to discriminate between frequencies and separate them out, and this results in a hearing difficulty. The type and volume of the noise produced is important. It would not be a language question. It may be that nobody could have made out what was being said as the shouts and cries rang around, except that the ‘bystanders’ were asked probably because they heard what was said. Therefore for analysing Claudius’ physiology, in Dio.60.33.6 the relevant section is really ‘and the emperor, not understanding by reason of the noise they made, asked the bystanders what they were saying’. This would be a perfectly understandable scenario for a stutterer.

¹³⁷ Dio.60.33.6 trans. Cary.

¹³⁸ Millar (1999) p32-8 collection of material, 38-40 composition, 40-6 style.

4.2. Twentieth Century Scholarship

Using some, but not all, of the evidence from the sources outlined above, scholars have grappled with the problem of Claudius' symptoms in order to diagnose an illness. Some conclusions may reflect contemporary fashions, others may show a personal insight of the author involved, and all, to some extent, reflect the current state of medical knowledge at that time. There is little to be gained from an exhaustive review of the methodology of the respective scholars, but it is worth considering the notion that historians reflect 'current medical preoccupations', which Levick sees as the reason for the pre-1945 diagnosis of infantile paralysis,¹³⁹ although this may not explain all the attempts at illumination. Levick gives one of the longest and most detailed expositions of the problem of Claudius' health, but it is brief at only four pages, and coupled with historians who have surprisingly taken the sources at face value, the result has been an inability to reconcile the paradox in the sources. In stark contrast to all is Momigliano, who finds it impossible to accept the premise that the Claudius portrayed in the sources would have sensibly been made emperor. Momigliano's lack of an attempt at diagnosis is merely explained away by the exaggeration of the sources and the lack of promotion for the citizen Claudius in comparison to Germanicus:

'an excuse was given that has passed into historical tradition and become a commonplace – Claudius' ill health, the bodily and mental infirmity which disfigures his outward appearance and made him clumsy and absurd'.¹⁴⁰

There are two orthodox positions concerning Claudius' illness, infantile paralysis (poliomyelitis)¹⁴¹ and cerebral palsy¹⁴² – as well as some rather less orthodox

¹³⁹ B. Levick (1990) p.13-20, reaches a conclusion where 'the view that Claudius suffered from cerebral palsy, involving some degree of spasticity, is more satisfactory', than previous attempts at a diagnosis, p13 and note7.

¹⁴⁰ Momigliano (1962) p.2.

¹⁴¹ S. Baring-Gould, *The Tragedy of the Caesars*, 1907 p.519 n1; A. Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, trans J.R. Foster, 1974 p.587; M.P. Charlesworth, *CAH* X p.667; H.H. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, 5th ed. 1982 p.288.

¹⁴² T.C. de Coursey Ruth, (1913) p.131; Leon (1948) p.79-86; M.T. Griffin, *Nero, the End of a Dynasty*, London: Batsford, 1984 p.30; J. Mottershead, *Suetonius Claudius*, 1986 p.30ff., and 145-7; B. Levick (1990) p.13-16.

conclusions.¹⁴³ It is difficult to delineate between genuine attempts to understand the problem, and those sympathetic to the hostile tradition in the sources. Scramuzza, drawing on Suet.*Claud.*XXX, and later to find an ally in Levick, proceeds with the caution that ‘the confused dates handed down from antiquity and the limitations of the psycho-medical sciences make it difficult to draw a picture of Claudius at once satisfactory to the historian, the physician, and the psychologist’.¹⁴⁴ The following chapters will demonstrate otherwise, with specific regard to the first two factors – it seems more difficult to test psychology decisively and conclusively in retrospect.

By deconstructing the sources, and comparing the individual pieces of evidence, one can reconstruct a valid and tenable position to explain fully Claudius’ illness, without having to resort to speculation or hypothesis. Certain diseases and conditions can be eliminated, as the cumulative build-up of relevant pathological and physical factors from the sources reduces the number of conclusions. This process of elimination will be carried out to produce a tenable diagnosis based entirely on the evidence, which will help to explain what has been something of a puzzle, one so eloquently questioned by Momigliano and Rostovtzeff.¹⁴⁵ The following sections will examine new evidence in numismatics and discuss physiognomics which has not considered in past assessments of Claudius.

¹⁴³ Scramuzza (1940) p.238 n3 cites previous theories: Hydrocephalus – H. Schiller 1883-87; Alcoholism – F. Kanngeiser, 1913; Epilepsy – G. Ferrero 1919; and additional mental defects are diagnosed as, Idiocy – M. Beulé 1869; Imbecility or Cretinism – *Pauly-Wissowa* III col.2882; Insanity – F. De Champigny 1859; F. Wiedemeister 1875; Degeneracy – E..Müller 1913.

¹⁴⁴ Scramuzza(1940) p.37; Levick(1990) p.13-16.

¹⁴⁵ Momigliano p.2; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social History and Economic History of the Roman Empire*², Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, p.80 and n2 p.569.

4.3. Numismatic Evidence

The coins in this section are provincial issues from the East, and they are examined solely for the iconography of the reverse side. They are not being analysed for any other numismatic aspects, and *Roman Provincial Coinage* covers these features comprehensively.¹⁴⁶ There are nine different issues of a silver *cistophorus* from Pergamum showing Claudius being crowned by Fortune, and a single example of an *aes* from Macedonia. Both coin types showing the figure of Claudius with an atrophied right leg.



Figure 4.1: *cistophorus* from Ephesus; obv. Claudius bare head, left, TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG; rev. Claudius and Fortune (?) standing in Temple, ROM ET AUG, COM ASI.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ A. Burnett, P. Ripollès, and M. Amandry, *Roman Provincial Coinage, vol 1 part 1*. 1992

¹⁴⁷ Plates 3.1-3.7, Claudius AR *Cistophorus*, Ephesus mint, type shown at *RIC* p127 no.52, *RSC* 3, *BMCRE* I. p.196 no.228, *RPC* 2221, Sear (2000) no.1838, <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s1838.t.html> 9/04/04. See A.M. Woodward, 'The Cistophoric Series and its place in the Roman Coinage', *Roman Coinage, Essays presented to Harold Mattingly*, 1956 p.154-5. For design and propaganda on provincial coins see A. Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman World*, 1987 p.80-85; for provincial issues in the early empire see H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, London: Methuen 1928 p.194-214. M. Grant *Roman Imperial Money*, 1954 p87-97 discusses Roman provincial coinage and how the currency was official, issued by representatives of the Roman state.



Figure 4.2: *cistophorus* from Ephesus; obv. Claudius bare head, left, TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG; rev. Claudius and Fortune standing in Temple, ROM ET AUG, COM ASI.



Figure 4.3: *cistophorus* from Ephesus; obv. Claudius bare head, left, TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG; rev. Claudius and Fortune standing in Temple, ROM ET AUG, COM ASI.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Although the issue on plates 4.1-9 was originally attributed by Sutherland (1984) p.120, who identifies the mint as Pergamum, because of the temple of Rome and Augustus in the city. He states that Mattingly erroneously attributed these *cistophoroi* to being struck in Ephesus, and because of their rarity he maintains they were only issued in small quantities.. Mattingly attributed the issue to Ephesus because of die links with the DIAN EPHE issue linked to the temple of Diana at Ephesus, see A. Burnett, M Amandry, P.Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol 1 part 1, 1992 p.379. The theory is that all the coins were produced in the one mint, and not at Ephesus and Pergamum; the dating of above coins is unsure, but AD41-2 or before AD50. D.R.Sear, *Roman Coins and their values*, 2000 no.1838 identifies the mint as Ephesus and dates them as AD41-2, but the development of the portrait



Figure 4.4: *cistophorus* from Ephesus; obv. Claudius bare head, left, TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG; rev. Claudius and Fortune standing in Temple, ROM ET AVG, COM ASI.



Figure 4.5: *cistophorus* from Ephesus; obv. Claudius bare head, left, TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG; rev. Claudius and Fortune standing in Temple, ROM ET AVG, COM ASI.

would question only an issue for the accession. For practical purposes this study will follow Mattingly's and Sear's identification of the coins being minted at Ephesus.



Figure 4.6: *cistophorus* from Ephesus; obv. Claudius bare head, left, TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG; rev. Claudius and Fortune standing in Temple, ROM ET AUG, COM ASI.



Figure 4.7: *cistophorus* from Ephesus; obv. Claudius bare head, left, TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG; rev. Claudius and Fortune standing in Temple, ROM ET AUG, COM ASI.



Figure 4.8: *cistophorus* from Ephesus; obv. Claudius bare head, left, TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG; rev. Claudius and Fortune standing in Temple, ROM ET AUG, COM ASI.¹⁴⁹



Figure 4.9: *cistophorus* from Ephesos/Pergamum, Countermarked IMP VES AVG early in the reign of Vespasian, Ephesus; obv. Claudius bare head, left, IMP VES AVG TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG; rev. Claudius and Fortune standing in Temple, ROM ET AUG, COM ASI.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Collection In memory of Zoë Wilbour; Boston 54.568, *BMCRE* I, 196, no. 228, pl. 34, 4.
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0040&query=Boston%2054.568>
 4/01/05.

¹⁵⁰ Countermark Martini Pangerl Collection 101, countermark of Vespasian on *cistophorii* of Marc Antony and Claudius, <http://www.romancoins.info/CMK-vespasian.html#MP94> 16/01/05



Figure 4.10. *denarius* AR, M. Junius Brutus, proconsul & *imperator*, by moneyer L. Servius Rufus, 41 B.C.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ <http://www.forumancientcoins.com/catalog/index.asp?vpar=714&pos=0>, 28/01/05, cited as RSC Sulpicia 10, Craw 515/2, Syd 1082. The iconography shows how even though there is some attempt at perspective, the muscle groups are still attempted on the back leg.



Figure 4.11: Claudius Æ of Amphipolis, Macedonia.¹⁵²



Figure 4.12, *dupondius* of Germanicus, obv: GEMNICVS CAESAR, rev: SIGNIS RECEPT EVICTIS GERM.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Claudius Æ 20mm of Amphipolis, Macedonia. Obv. ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ-Ο-Σ, (TI CLAUDIUS AUGUSTUS) Claudius standing left, right arm raised, holding eagle tipped sceptre in left hand. Rev. ΑΜΦΙΠΟ-ΛΙ-ΤΩΝ, Artemis Tauropolos riding a bull right, holding a veil over her head. *BMCRE* 88, SNG Cop 98, RPC 1693, <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/claudius/t.html> 20/12/04. For brief outline of civic bronze coinage in Greece see C. Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 1995 p.58-9; Greece and Asia in Burnett (1987) p.40-2. A. Bellinger, 'Greek Mints under the Roman Empire', 1956 p.136-148.

¹⁵³ *BMCRE* I, p.160 nos. 93-100 pl.30.9-10, issued in Rome under Gaius, undated. <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/germanicus/i.html> 28/01/05.

One of the issues from the mint in Pergamum shows Claudius being crowned by Fortuna.¹⁵⁴ There is no date for this issue, and there are sufficient variations of the issue to propose some form of chronological progress, as yet unidentified. Bellinger notes there are three basic types of this coin, identified as Claudius and Fortuna facing each other and Claudius is willing to receive the crown, Claudius turning away as though disinclined to be crowned (figs. 4.1-4,6) and both figures facing away from each other where both find the whole performance unpalatable (figs.4.5,7-8).¹⁵⁵

What is of interest for this study of Claudius' physical health is the representation of an atrophied right leg in the coins from Ephesus, (figs.4.2, 3, 5, 7, 8). There is a less definite representation in fig.4.1 and 4.6, although in the light of the previous series one could argue that these two coins are following a similar pattern. Fig.4.4 has a near normal representation of the right leg in comparison to the left. It should be noted that in figs.4.1, 4.3, 4.5 and 4.7 the left leg is made significantly thicker to make the right leg *look* thinner, while the right leg is straight and thin. Figure 4.7 shows a very thin right leg which has echoes in fig.4.5. The difference in the number of temple steps, the architrave decoration, the angle of the sceptre and the position of the figures demonstrate that all eight are different issues.¹⁵⁶ The countermark under the emperor Vespasian (AD69-79) where the atrophied leg is distinct (fig.4.9), at the very least shows there was no problem using the issue. Considering Vespasian's links to Claudius in terms of commands and family, he would probably not want to reflect badly on *divus* Claudius. In addition Vespasian was in the East until from AD66-70 so it is likely that he would know the particular issue of *cistophoroi* before commandeering it early in his reign.

The issue from Macedonia illustrates a very similar physical characteristic; fig.4.11 shows a very thin right leg behind the left leg. Artistic licence could be one argument

¹⁵⁴ Suetonius would later write that Claudius became *princeps* by a *mirabili casu*, Suet.*Claud.*X.1.

¹⁵⁵ Bellinger p.154 n5

¹⁵⁶ The differences in the iconography are only the number of temple steps, decoration on the pediment, and the angle of the sceptre. Claudius is wearing military uniform in all the coins, and is in a similar pose to the statue used for the grave of M. Favonius Facilis in Colchester, which has many Claudian sculptural features. The resemblance is striking, and warrants further comparison with the statues of Claudius in Aphrodisias, see fig. 4.15.

for such a depiction, except that this type of *adlocutio* coin had been produced since Augustus,¹⁵⁷ and it is similar to a coin showing Germanicus.¹⁵⁸ Above the ankle of the right leg the tibia is very pronounced, and unlike the muscular rendering of the left leg. The *stele* from Egypt (fig. 4.13), and a skeleton from Roman Britain with abnormalities in the humerus, femur, tibia, fibula and foot,¹⁵⁹ demonstrate that possibilities that the results of poliomyelitis were apparent.



Figure 4.13 limestone *stele* with original paintwork, Egyptian 1403 BC-1365 BC.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ *BMCRE I*, p.100 no.611-4 pl. 15.4, *denarius* of Octavian, rev: CAESAR DIVI·F, issued in the East 31-29BC.

¹⁵⁸ *BMCRE I*, p.160 nos. 93-100 pl.30.9-10. See fig.3.12

¹⁵⁹ A male skeleton at Gloucester was identified with an altered gait pattern, and this led to a diagnosis of clubfoot (*talipes*), see C.A. Roberts, C.J. Knüsel, L. Race, 'A foot deformity from a Romano-British cemetery at Gloucester, England, and the current evidence for *talipes* in palaeopathology', *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* Volume 14, Issue 5, p.389 – 403 Published Online: 16 Jun 2004, 3/01/05.

¹⁶⁰ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Museum, <http://www.glyptoteket.dk> ref:AEIN 134, 4/01/05; also *NCG Cat. Ref. AEGYPTEN II*, 1998, kat 39. Also see <http://www-micro.msb.le.ac.uk/109/introduction.html> for brief history of virology, includes reference to the mummy of Pharaoh Siptah, with image of a withered left leg and clubfoot, 4/01/05. In addition the shortening of the left leg, in a mummy from Deshasheh, and the deformities in the 12th Dynasty mummy of Khnumu-Nekht are all interpreted as

Fig.4.14 is a heroic nude statue of Claudius from a relief in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias, a monumental complex that commemorated the Julio-Claudians and was used to worship Aphrodite.¹⁶¹ In this relief, Claudius is in a *dextrarium iunctio* with Agrippina, which may recall the image on the Praetorian coins. The statue group is in the south portico, finished in the reigns of Claudius and Nero, where there is another relief of Claudius showing him subduing a female personification of Britannia.¹⁶² The latter relief is based on a Hellenistic model, and Claudius' head is too large for the statue body, allowing Kleiner to argue that the sculpture is of a lesser standard to reliefs in Rome.¹⁶³ The sculptures are of sufficient standard though to produce a recognisable image of Claudius, using an Hellenistic body and without depicting a withered or weak leg. Fig.4.15 is a funerary monument for a centurion in *Legio XX* in Britain, and it shows very similar facial features to the statue in the *Sebasteion*. There are close similarities across the eyes, the forehead, the large ears, the shape of the head, the thick hair with the Augustan crab-claw locks of the Julio-Claudian emperors. In addition, Claudius' facial expression is very similar in both statues and made up of downcast eyes with a down turned mouth.

The headstone for Facilis could be based on an imperial statue in Colchester, as it has many of the features of Claudius - this hypothesis requires a careful comparative study of the iconography. This might produce evidence to add to the Claudian statues in Aphrodisias that shows that the statue produced of Claudius in the provinces followed standard Roman practice and used Hellenistic templates for the body. This resulted in the standard depiction of both legs. The coin engravers were producing an image early in Claudius' reign, but they would have a Hellenistic body pattern to work from for the representation of the body, so any changes to the format are less likely to be errors, and more so if they are produced in numbers.

poliomyelitis; <http://www.indiana.edu/~ancmed/egypt.HTM> 3/01/05 and see Mitchell in A.T. Sandison, "Diseases in Ancient Egypt," in *Mummies, Disease, and Ancient Cultures*, 1980 p.32.

¹⁶¹ D.E.E.Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 1992 p.158-61.

¹⁶² Kleiner (1992) p.158.

¹⁶³ Kleiner (1992) p.158, and compare the statues of Claudius with the attributes of Jupiter from Laniuvium AD42-3 and from Olympia AD71-73 (Kleiner p.132-3, plates 106-7).



Fig.4.14 (left) Claudius, from statue group of Agrippina, Claudius and female figure, at Aphrodisias.¹⁶⁴

Fig.4.15 (right) Headstone relief of Marcus Favonius Facilis, *centurion* of the XX Legion, died AD55, Colchester.¹⁶⁵

The archaeological and iconographic examples discussed only reinforce the numismatic evidence; they do not of themselves prove the existence of Claudius' illness. However, the literary evidence is buttressed by the coins and the coins are supported by the texts. This symbiotic relationship allows for a robust diagnosis to be

¹⁶⁴ Image modified from www.indiana.edu/~leach/c414/julclaudfam.html, 20/07/05.

¹⁶⁵ Colchester Castle Museum, <http://www.colchestermuseums.org.uk/>, 28/01/05.

proposed for Claudius' illness, and in isolation it would be very difficult to understand either medium, making it harder to attempt an evaluation. If the engravers are not producing a representation of Claudius, then why is there any hint of an atrophied leg in the iconography? These coins from the East were not part of the carefully controlled range of coins produced from Rome, and may reflect veristic portraiture, or a Hellenistic influence depicting the concept of 'lame Kingship'. The coins were produced under the guidance of the governor of Asia, so if the representation is an error it is an error which has been reproduced in Pergamum and Amphipolis, and this seems unlikely given the care taken to produce the image of right leg. The image on the coins may be a reflection of the words in the text.

4.4. Physiognomics

Physiognomics provides a system of shorthand for inferring a person's character from the permanent features of the face and the body, such as the voice, build, hair. The earliest form of this type of classification was Hippocrates' *Epidemics* which produces the beginnings of the practice, while *Airs, Waters, Places* attempted to understand the moral and physical consequences of the environment on human character.¹⁶⁶ Later a treatise produced by pseudo- Aristotle, *Φυσιогνωμονικά*, discussed the methodology and the connection drawn between character and body, using the comparison with signs in animals, such as the courageous lion.¹⁶⁷

Scholarship on the subject is sparse, as a result this section will expand on the work of Tamsyn Barton, and Elizabeth Evans, both of whom provide outlines that explain the subject - but their work does not engage with Claudius' representation in the manner I have analysed the sources. The section is structured to discuss certain points raised by scholars on physiognomics and applies them directly to a new analysis and interpretation of Claudius' characteristics. The discussion will centre around the use of enthymemes and syllogisms, which draw connections from monsters and man-monsters (theriomorphs) to human figures. Suetonius' use of producing biographical descriptions with physiognomic aspects is annotated in Evans' work, and this relates to the literary or iconographical representation of a subject's neck and how that reflects masculine or feminine features of animals, discussion of gait, signs of old age.

The physiognomist Polemo b.88AD-145AD, 'created a new magic of old elements, a new *μυχαγωγία* (winning of souls). Rather than actually making wax images of his opponents to burn, with physiognomics he constructed their bodies so as to destroy their characters. And destroying the *ἦθος* (moral persona) of a rival deprived him of

¹⁶⁶ Barton(1994) p97, 101ff. discusses the early development of the discipline.

¹⁶⁷ S.Vogt, *Semiotics of Human Body and Character: Aristotle's Logical Foundation of Physiognomics*, 1998. Also Hett (1936) p.83 explains that the treatise is made up two sections, the first deals with the methods and problems found when connecting animals to man (Aristotle 805a ff.) and the problems of applying the observations about the connection between bodily and mental characteristics. The second part is basically a catalogue with entries such as 'those that have a sharp nose-tip are prone to anger; witness the dog', Aristotle 811a30, trans.Hett.

the moral claim to persuade',¹⁶⁸ so the organisation of terms provided by Physiognomics could be used to restrain political and intellectual opponents.¹⁶⁹

The list of signs and symptoms created by physicians and physiognomists are used to infer a state of mind or the state of a body, by means of common causes, humours or blood;¹⁷⁰ they are a development of concepts of praise and blame in order to convince their audience to side with them against an opponent in debate.¹⁷¹ On the mechanics of physiognomy, Aristotle states that a compressed form of reasoning, and enthymeme, used in a rhetorical form of reasoning is the best to convince a listener.¹⁷² In the animal world, physiognomic inference is critical to determine a friend or foe, or whether a subject would be a predator or a meal,¹⁷³ and so it is 'an illustration of inferences from signs, inferring causes from effects'.¹⁷⁴ An enthymeme gives a rhetorical proof, not by a methodical point-by-point demonstration, but it provides a direct route, as though the speaker was using a form of shorthand.¹⁷⁵ The example of determining the characteristic of bravery led Aristotle to consider that for lions to be brave there must be a corresponding sign for it, as body and soul are connected.¹⁷⁶ If the sign for bravery is "large extremities" in the lion, then other animals with this characteristic will also have the sign; a man with "large extremities" will consequently be brave: 'therefore he will have the sign; for *ex hypothesi* there is one sign for one affection'.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁸ T.S. Barton, *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics and Medicine under the Roman Empire*, 1994 p.97 and n14,15.

¹⁶⁹ Barton (1994) p.96-7 refers to Polemo's use of physiognomics.

¹⁷⁰ For an explanation of how physiognomists used many signs see Barton(1994) p.98-99; M.P.Bologna, 'A semiotic view of ancient Greek ideology' (2003), describes the physiognomic comparison of man and animals in terms of signs, and how the affinity is inferred from physical resemblance and behaviour, and that poetic imagery, Homeric simile, the classification of Aristotle's zoology, result in an ideological background for interpreting bodily features (Bologna p.302).

¹⁷¹ Barton (1994) p.99; for background and the development of physiognomics from Greece to Polemo see p.99-104.

¹⁷² Arist.70a5-70b30 (*Prior Analytics* II.27ff.) explains the working of an enthymeme, 'an enthymeme is a syllogism from probabilities or signs' trans Tredennick. There is an unresolved controversy whether it is an abbreviated syllogism or an enthymeme, see Barton (1994) p.105 and n75.

¹⁷³ Vogt (1998).

¹⁷⁴ Barton (1994) p.104.

¹⁷⁵ An example from Anon. *Physiog* F.2.14 is used by Barton (1994) p.104-5; 'this man is like an Egyptian; Egyptians are cunning, teachable, rash and keen on sex' and the conclusion is this man is cunning, teachable, rash and keen on sex, Barton p.105.

¹⁷⁶ Arist.70b15-20.

¹⁷⁷ Arist. 70b20-25, trans. Hett.

The enthymeme is made up of three figures:¹⁷⁸

minor principle - a man has "large extremities"

major principle - "large extremities" are a sign for courage, converted from the characteristics associated with the lion.

conclusion - the man is brave.

‘Thus it is possible to judge character from the appearance in the first figure, provided that the middle term is convertible with the first extreme, but is wider in extension than the third term and not convertible with it’.¹⁷⁹ Therefore

Physiognomics is an attempt to formalise the connection, and understand the relationship, between the body and the soul.¹⁸⁰

Polemo uses an enthymematic form in his formulation that ‘a wide mouth and thick lips signify gluttony, voracity as well as viciousness and real impiety, for such a mouth is like the mouths of sea-monster’,¹⁸¹ but Polemo has omitted to state what a sea-monster is like because ‘the animal provides a neat elision facility in the logical sequence; it encodes the vital premise’.¹⁸² A further step in the development of physiognomy is to use signification terminology to reshape reasoning:

If x resembles a sea monster

Sea monsters are gluttonous, voracious and impious

X is gluttonous, voracious and impious.¹⁸³

Therefore all that needs to be stated is that x resembles a sea monster to signify the characteristics he has in common with the sea monster. What may have real

¹⁷⁸ Arist.70b15-20.

¹⁷⁹ Arist.70b30ff, the example given is A = courage, B = large extremities and C = lion; A applies to all (but not more) that B applies to, and it is convertible with B, so B + C apply to the same factors, or there will not be a one sign for a single characteristic. Also see 69a15-69b39 for discussion of syllogisms.

¹⁸⁰ Arist.805a1-9; Vogt (1998); Barton (1994) p.95, 101.

¹⁸¹ Polemo F.I.226.7-10, Barton(1994) p.105

¹⁸² Barton (1994) p.106 and see notes 79-80; Polemo organised a hierarchy of signs; eyes, eyebrows, brow, nose, mouth, head shape, neck, chest, shoulder, stomach, back, arms, legs and feet, while the voice, breathing and gestures have undefined status, Barton p107-9. This places the features of Claudius picked out by Suetonius, Seneca and Juvenal as coming some way down the order, and one wonders if it is because it reflects some form of reality which lessens the chances of outright fabrication of material.

¹⁸³ Model from Barton (1994) p.106.

significance for the analysis of Claudius is that Adamantius observes that the sea monster's characteristics are savage-mindedness, foolishness and impiety, which may reflect the point of the game of putting *socci* onto Claudius hands.¹⁸⁴ The accusations of a corrupt or flawed character would seem appropriate delivered by an opponent of Claudius, either in a rhetorical form or by using the physiognomic device, the syllogism or the enthymeme to prove a point. In terms of character traits, the physiognomists remain basically within the stereotypes set out by Theophrastus, comedy and satire,¹⁸⁵ and they use commonplaces that will apply to all with a specific characteristic, so vices are magnified from a set template.¹⁸⁶ The tradition of slander and invective has roots in this system, moreover the invective 'worked by exciting laughter against opponents, creating solidarity with the attacker; for almost all rhetorical theorists the chief source of wit was in bodily as well as moral defects'.¹⁸⁷

The *topoi* of woman, alien and beast have some relevance to the understanding of the sources on Claudius. Polemo designed his metaphors/comparisons carefully to create a reaction, the reaction of scorn by laughter, and by using the three *topoi* the audience already knew the scenarios and how to react – once someone is compared to one of the three factors then the process works in a way that some of the mud thrown will stick,¹⁸⁸ and the attempt is 'to mobilise social opinion, to make it solidify around a particular situation'.¹⁸⁹

A woman is described in physical terms as a deviation from the (Greek) male norm, and for Claudius the attacks are not concerned with his stature or bearing but possibly he was criticised for having a 'a weak voice', and in a possible deviation from the male norm, could be added the description, 'her strides are smaller and

¹⁸⁴ *Od.*4.446, 452 for seals.

¹⁸⁵ Barton (1994) p.110.

¹⁸⁶ Barton (1994) p.111.

¹⁸⁷ Barton (1994) p.113; Cicero was not averse to using this tactic of using bodily and moral defects to attack an opponent in the political arena, an example is the attacks on Chaerea and Piso, the latter for having hairy cheeks and rotten teeth, *Cic.In Piso.*1.1; Barton(1994) p.111 and note 106.

¹⁸⁸ Barton (1994) p.115 who cites Richlis' term for this process is 'staining' of the person being attacked.

¹⁸⁹ Barton (1994) p.115.

more frequent, her limbs less rigid, the movement more fluid'.¹⁹⁰ However, the characteristics of an effeminate man do not correspond at all because it is a different commonplace which does not sit readily with Claudius, 'curly hair, smooth skin, a soft, high voice, and general softness, weakness and tremulousness are frequent themes'.¹⁹¹

For understanding the portrait of Claudius, the alien presents the problem of reconciling geography and the monster. The geographer Ptolemy divided the world into three (unlike the astrologers who had seven divisions) with the southerly latitudes of the Ethiopians, the middle latitudes that contained more subdivisions of peoples including the Greeks and Scythians, and the northerly parallels under the Bears where the people had white complexions, plus they were tall with straight hair and cold by nature.¹⁹² Polemo has a similar description of northerly people but they have red hair and 'are rough to touch with thick legs, dense plump bodies, soft flesh and huge stomachs. Their corresponding characters follow. They are quick to anger and quick to debate, and they are rash, honest, and find it hard to learn'.¹⁹³ Claudius was born in Lugdunum, and could be seen as technically an outsider; at the time when he was born in Gaul, the only Gallic senators were from Transalpine Gaul and Narbonnensis, and he is portrayed as corresponding to type in certain areas – an outsider, not suitable for office. An additional layer of reasoning could be applied in that through his birthplace he had a commonality with the barbarian peoples of the north, who are *feri barbari*,¹⁹⁴ not that Gaul could be associated with the margins of the world like India or Ethiopia.¹⁹⁵

Given that people and animals were judged on voice, physique, eating habits and sexual habits the structuralists used a system incorporating animals to divide human types.¹⁹⁶ They have described a system where people that crossed the boundaries between categories created fear and disgust, and as a result may be useful in a

¹⁹⁰ Polemo F.I.194.4-14, and Adamantius 350.12-351.3 in Barton(1994) note 118.

¹⁹¹ Barton (1994) p.116.

¹⁹² Barton (1994) p.120.

¹⁹³ Polemo F.I.238.6-12 in Barton (1994) p.120 and n144.

¹⁹⁴ See Caesar *De Bello Gallico* 1.31.5 and Barton (1994) n148.

¹⁹⁵ Barton (1994) p.122 and n149 for the beasts that inhabit the margins of the world.

¹⁹⁶ See Barton (1994) p.122-3 for an explanation of the structuralist's anthropological approach.

rhetorical context, where these 'boundary crossers' can be used for 'organising mental categories but also may have a persuasive function'.¹⁹⁷ Theriomorphs are consequently given a special moral category,¹⁹⁸ and the animal-man monsters have descriptions, 'such as Cynocephali (Dog-heads) or Hippopodes (Horse-feet), their physical appearance is most obviously an expression of moral judgement on their lack of human qualities'.¹⁹⁹

*Solebant et manibus stertentis socci induc, ut repente expergefactus faciem sibimet confricaret.*²⁰⁰ As Claudius was in the habit of taking a post-meal nap the jesters of the court took advantage of the opportunity to poke fun. The result was ridicule on two levels, while asleep he would snore and therefore look and sound like a seal; when he awakened, he rubbed his face with the slippers which would look ridiculous. The result is that Claudius changes from a man to a theriomorph when the *socci* were placed on his hands. He has moved from being a man, with fingers and hands, to an animal-man monster because his fingers were hidden by the *socci*, and his hands were now fingerless, flat limbs that would look physically similar to a seal's flippers. Using the construct above Claudius would be a 'Seal-hand'; Seneca gives Claudius a seal-voice; Juvenal's comparison is more with a seal and the comparison is then with beasts; but the theriomorphs are a 'resource for invective'²⁰¹ and 'monsters are a vivid illustration of extremes of excess and deficiency, at the opposite extreme from the perfect body'.²⁰² Aristotle describes seals as "intermediate" creatures falling between classifications,²⁰³ because if they are regarded as a water creature then they have feet, and if classified as a land-animal then they have fins - their hind feet are close together like fins of a fish.²⁰⁴ In addition, when talking of sense organs, the

¹⁹⁷ Barton (1994) p.123.

¹⁹⁸ C Lecoutex in Barton (1994) p.123 claims theriomorphs are unlike the monstrous races of Sciapods or Blemmyae, who are a recognisable human form of beast; in contrast the animal-man monsters suffer 'justifiable purges' if it is a moral issue 'it is the moral issue at the heart of physiognomics: appearance is made to function as a moral indicator', Barton(1994) p.123.

¹⁹⁹ Barton (1994) p.123-4 and n151.

²⁰⁰ Suet.*Claud.*VIII.

²⁰¹ Barton (1994) p.124, and cites Suetonius' collection of insults, see E.M.Miller *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque*, 1968 p.421.

²⁰² Barton (1994) p.124 and note 154; the invective includes attacks on Centaurs, and 'excess and deficiency are a mark of vice' (Barton p.124).

²⁰³ Arist.697b1-2.

²⁰⁴ Arist.697b5-8, (*Parts of Animals* IV.13); and one can demonstrate the incongruity of seals, as Aristotle had stated that Nature never makes anything superfluous so fish have fins and no need for limbs as they are swimmers and not walkers, 695b18-27, although 'Flat-fish swim as one-eyed men walk; for their nature is distorted', 714a6-7 trans. Forster.

seal has auditory passages and not ears, διὰ τὸ πεπηρωμένον εἶηαι τετράπους, and this can be because the seal is either "deformed" or "imperfectly developed".²⁰⁵ The lack of ears can lead to two associated motifs, the deaf Claudius and the seal-like Claudius in Juvenal, and both point to deformity of the seal and the *princeps*. There could be a suggestion with Claudius' alleged deafness, that the sources used it to parallel facets of the seal; it may have been a convenient for the sources that Claudius had some degree of deafness.

Vernant's study of the 'Feet of Hephaistos' examines the meaning of the gait of the smith and he provides the example of Suetonius' description of the Telschines, 'Sometimes they resemble demons, sometimes human beings and then again sometimes fish or snakes';²⁰⁶ that due to their ability to change, the fin-footed animals illustrated by Suetonius are in fact seals – because they are amphibious, they have a double life, on land and sea.²⁰⁷ Their position is ambiguous; seals can come out of the water and have a connection to land and humans, and the link to the sea where the forces are hostile to mankind. The seal has human feet, but it has a strange and awkward gait on land, using its odd (for humans) limbs to drag itself along the ground.²⁰⁸

Vernant connects the two factors of the Telschines metalworkers and the seal (neither fish nor man) represented in the features of the crab, which has unusual limbs.²⁰⁹ Crabs have unusual motion, and are the only animals to move obliquely, but because their eyes also move diagonally, Aristotle argued that after a fashion they move "forward".²¹⁰ They are in fact able to walk in all directions and different species walk using a different number of legs,²¹¹ but the basic premise is sound that crabs walk in an unusual manner, and one that is unlike humans.²¹²

²⁰⁵ Arist.657a24 trans.Peck, and note *a.*.

²⁰⁶ Suet. cited by Vernant *Feet of Hephaistos*. p260.

²⁰⁷ In Vernant (1979) p.260-1.

²⁰⁸ Aristotle notes that the seal has stunted feet; Arist.*Hist.Anim.* 497b.24; Vernant p266.

²⁰⁹ Vernant (1979) p.270.

²¹⁰ Arist.712b13-22.

²¹¹ F.Clarac, W.J.P Barnes, 'Peripheral influences on the coordination of the legs during walking in decapod crustaceans', 1985 p.249 gives the examples of the soldier crab (*Mictyris*) that uses all ten

Crabs have connections with Lemnos, (where Hephaistos landed) they are amphibious so they are like seals in that they cross categories between land and sea. Οἱ δὲ καρκίνοι τῷ πολυπόδων περιττότατα πεφύκασιν,²¹³ the movement of the crab is not straight ahead but sideways. The crooked legs produce a disturbed gait, because all different directions possible are present in the limbs as the legs and pincers bend in opposite directions; it is the same notion of twisted legs and strange movement found in Hephaistos.²¹⁴

The explanation of how the god was crippled, is drawn from the characteristic features of a metal worker, so ‘like the crab with its oblique walk, the seal with its sinuous method of movement represents the blacksmith’s fundamental characteristics, namely the ambiguous nature of his limbs. This is the identifying mark of a god such as Hephaistos’.²¹⁵ What happened was the ridicule compared Claudius with a god – a crippled god, the artisan Hephaistos. The multi-layered comparison to seals through Hephaistos, the flippers and the comparison to Claudius’ seal-like voice, makes Claudius a figure of fun, exactly the same as Hephaistos being a source of fun for the gods on Olympus.²¹⁶

Suetonius includes the story of Claudius’ ridicule because he probably realised the significance of the invective or the insult – these were educated men who carried out

legs, the fiddler crab (*Uca*) uses eight legs, and the ghost crab (*Ocypode*) at full speed only uses two legs. Their study concludes that the inter leg control is complex and uses a number of neural mechanisms that results in the variety of stepping patterns which can suit different conditions - this results in the crabs’ ability to adjust their gait to the terrain they walk over, be it on land or in the sea (p.267).

²¹² Clarac & Barnes for the study of different stepping patterns in crustaceans, ipsilateral p.250-60. and contralateral movements p.260-67.

²¹³ Arist.713b11-12, ‘Crabs are the most strangely constituted of all the polypods’, trans.Forster and note *d* states the text is doubtful for this section.

²¹⁴ In Vernant (1979) p.270, The crab also has links with the Cabiri and Hephaistos

²¹⁵ Vernant (1979) p.272 and p.271 explains the words used to describe the deformed legs, *kullopdon*, with curved feet and twisted limbs Il.18.371; *cholos* – crippled or lame, mutilated in both legs Il.18.397; Apoll.Lib.I.3.5; *amphigueeis* – curved in both legs, in opposite directions, Il.1.607.. The shape of the feet, deformed and mutilated is the outward sign of his *metis* and craftsman’s intelligence required to control the elements in metalworking.

²¹⁶ *Iliad*.I.600.

the jest – and was using the invective to provoke the right response from his reader. Polemo's use of metaphor is in a similar vein; 'what he presents is designed to elicit a specific reaction, that of scorn, often by means of laughter',²¹⁷ and through the process of 'staining' a victim, by gathering public opinion around his point 'metaphors are performative strategies'²¹⁸ for the physiognomist. Suetonius is doing exactly the same thing in *Claud.* 8 and 30.

Evans concentrates on the portraits of the emperors in Suetonius with an emphasis on the comparison with beasts along the lines of Aristotle's physiognomical constructs which influenced Polemo.²¹⁹ The imperial portraits of Tacitus, however, produce descriptions of individuals interwoven into a moral analysis of the subject's vices or virtues; an example of this is his treatment of Tiberius and the degeneration of the emperor's health and physique in the later years from that of the soldier, successful commander and heir.²²⁰

Evans identifies three basic descriptions: a general description of the body using *corpus ingens* and similar phrases; the emotion of the subject shown in their body or look/countenance with phrases like *laeto voltu* which are used in a panegyric to describe their dignity of appearance and the expressions of the subject at a particular moment in time as they react to an event, for example, 'the whole body is photographically described as in the *Lives* of Suetonius'.²²¹ Caution is necessary with the last of these descriptions, because although that may well be part of the intent to provide a portrait, the method of construction using a collection of physiognomical metaphors leads to a different conclusion, that Suetonius was really producing an abstract picture made up of disconnected pieces. The system of construction of parts of the descriptions is of consequence to the study of Claudius.

²¹⁷ Barton (1994) p.115, and through the process of 'staining' a victim, by gathering public opinion around his point.

²¹⁸ Barton (1994) p.115.

²¹⁹ E.C. Evans 'Roman Descriptions of Personal Appearance', 1935 p.43-84, see p51; for a discussion of Tacitus and the use of description of physique in narrative see p.53-57.

²²⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 4.57 and 6.51; Evans cites Arist. *Physiog.* 807b, see p69 note 12, where a stiff neck and a slow walk is a sign of haughtiness, and *cervice obstipa* is not a good sign according to Polemo, because it shows the person is not free from insanity, Evans p.69; Polemo F.I.222.

²²¹ Evans (1935) p.45.

The satirists ‘found in the doctrines of the physiognomists a fertile field for biting criticism’,²²² and Suetonius wrote *De Vitiis Corporalibus* and explained the body, the defects of the body, and the collection of physiognomical insults, Περὶ βλαφημιῶν.²²³ Evans suggests there are parallels between the ideas and expressions in Suetonius and those found in Aristotle’s *Physiognomy*, as well as those in Polemo, and although the latter was moving in the same imperial circles as Suetonius there is no evidence that they knew each other’s work.²²⁴

In physiognomics the well-proportioned body is characteristic of the brave and upright man, while an ill-proportioned body signifies a rogue; the most perfect male form is the lion, which has a liberal proud ambitious character and is associated with Augustus; the panther is feminine, with an ill-proportioned and ill-articulated body so it is mean and of low cunning – the panther has similar characteristics to the archetypal cruel and spiteful Gaius.²²⁵

For Claudius there are five parallel descriptions recorded in the physiognomists.²²⁶ The first where ‘large men with moist flesh or a complexion which is due to the coldness of the body, accomplish nothing either; for as the blood travels in a large

²²² Evans (1935) p.58, see note 1 for satirists including Juvenal *Sat.*2.8ff, 9.1ff, 9.130ff.

²²³ A fragment of an epitome is extant E.M.Miller *Mélanges*, 1968 p.415-425; Evans (1935) p.62.

²²⁴ Evans (1935) p.62ff, ‘The conclusion of this investigation has been that Suetonius, though not tampering in any way with the traditional portrait of an emperor, has nevertheless at times laid particular emphasis on certain aspects of physique, which from the point of view of the physiognomists indicate either the virtuous or vicious nature of an emperor’s character’, Evans p.63; it is unproven that there was a ‘traditional portrait’ of the emperor, especially if one considers the diverse sources used by Suetonius, although the premise that the description is based on some form of reality however slight or tenuous remains valid because of the physiognomic requirement of fitting a character trait to a personal characteristic.

²²⁵ Evans (1935) p.64, see Suet.*Aug.*79, p.64-68 for an analysis of parallels between Suetonius work and the physiognomists’ descriptions of animals. ‘The description of Tiberius in Suet.*Tib.*68 provides the most striking example of an emperor whose physical merits and defects correspond from a physiognomical point of view to the virtues and vices in his character’, Evans p.68; on one hand his bravery and military career, on the other the aspects of character like sloth, haughtiness or fear, but this description does not belong to any specific time in his life, Evans p.70, which is a similar problem of unspecified chronology found in *Claud.*30. The vices of cruelty and a morose temper which were present as a child, flourished when he became princeps, Suet.*Tib.*57, Evans (1935) p.70. Once on Capri the degeneration of the Tiberius is reflected in the descriptions in Suet.*Tib.*6, 63, 66, 69.

²²⁶ E.C.Evans ‘Physiognomics in the Ancient World’, 1969 Appendix B p.94, and n6-10, from Suet.*Claud.*XXX the physiognomic descriptions are, *exili corpore, opimis cervicibus, destituebant poplites minus firmi, risus indecens* and *umentibus narens*.

space, and slowly because it is cold, it does not reach the seat of intelligence as a whole', ²²⁷ which corresponds to *nam et prolixo nec exili corpore*.²²⁸ In contrast the large man who is dry due to heat is sensitive, and the heat of the flesh counterbalances any excess in size so the brain will be effective.

But for Suetonius' *opimis cervicibus*, the descriptive phrase would fit with a substantial figure, and there may be connotations of magnanimity, authority and an imposing presence whilst stationary, in direct contrast to when Claudius even moved a limb. There is a problem here because *tremulum* as stated by Suetonius would be visible at *all* times and would detract from the creation of a dignified appearance – this does not seem to be the case. It is difficult to find an appropriate description for Claudius in Aristotle's system of characteristics;²²⁹ the insensitive man has parallels in Claudius as both have a thick neck,²³⁰ although the orderly man who is deliberate in his movement and speech has a husky and weak voice.²³¹ Those who have thick necks are strong in character, and they are male in character – 'those whose necks are full and thick are of savage temper; witness savage-tempered bulls. But those whose neck is of large size without being thick are magnanimous; witness the lion'.²³² The use of *opimus*, which is complimentary, would fit with the magnanimous interpretation, as the first part of *Claud.*30 is dealing with Claudius' virtues or better points; Augustus and Titus have similar descriptions of the appearance of *auctoritas*.²³³ Gaius is described as the archetypal feminine type, *corpore enormi, gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum*, the features of the panther.²³⁴

²²⁷ Arist.*Physiog.*813b.15-25; Arist.*Eth.Nic.*4.7 cites sincerity regarding one's own capabilities and whether one is a boastful or self-deprecating type.

²²⁸ Suet.*Claud.*XXX.

²²⁹ Arist.*Physiog.*807a-808a where he explains the characteristics of a brave man, a coward, a man of easy disposition, an insensitive man, a shameless man, an orderly man, a high-spirited man, a low-spirited man, the morbid or the passionate temperament, the gentle man, the mock-modest man, the little-minded and abusive men.

²³⁰ Arist.*Physiog.*807b20ff.

²³¹ Arist.*Physiog.*807b35ff.

²³² Arist.*Physiog.*811a.11-15; I would propose that this is one of the reasons why the neck is accentuated on the coins of Augustus, Gaius and Claudius, to be the neck of the lion, even though Gaius had a neck that was compared to the panther by physiognomists. For a full comparison in a survey of physiognomics in history and biography see Evans (1969) p.46-58.

²³³ Suet.*Aug.*LXXIX, *Titus.*III; see Evans (1935) note 8 p.64.

²³⁴ Suet.*Gaius.*L; see Arist811a, 814a and Evans (1935) note 8 p.67 for references to Polemo, Adamantius and Anon.

For gait the correspondence between Claudius' weak knees in Suetonius and Aristotle is unclear,²³⁵ because Aristotle does not describe gait but motion, unless it causes slow short steps which means the subject is a slow starter and does not finish; the alternative is that there is some correspondence to reality and Claudius' gait is the result of illness. The *risus indecens* found in Polemo and the overall foolishness is dealt with by Suetonius' collection of invectives.²³⁶ Also the *mimice ac moleste ridentem* of Catullus demonstrates that the grin of the mime could be irritating, unsettling²³⁷ – Suetonius succeeds in connecting all these factors, possibly as a reminder of the accession and the *Pro Caelio* motif.

The anger causing Claudius to foam at the mouth, may have some correspondence, with David, as the latter feigns madness to the extent his beard is covered in saliva and spittle, in order to avoid being killed,²³⁸ and both these stories show that they were unsuitable to be kings at that point.²³⁹ There is no scale or context for anger in a similar vein, and a complicating factor is the use of the words, because of the similarity of the words for anger and madness, which have come from Hebrew via Egyptian medical writing to the Greek.²⁴⁰ Suetonius may well be using a common story, a well-known enthymeme that will elicit the reaction from the readers that Claudius was unsuitable to be a *princeps* or an *imperator*. There is no evidence of a direct connection, but the apparent commonality of the concept is worth noting.

The effects of old age, grey hair and wrinkles are used as a metaphor for a man's dignified behaviour, who could 'expect authority and reverence',²⁴¹ but this should be contrasted with Juvenal's vicious sketch of the hardship of being elderly.²⁴²

²³⁵ Arist.*Physiog.* 813a.3-10.

²³⁶ Miller (1968) p.421, cites Polemo, F.I.148; also see Barton for Polemo used physical signs to destroy a character without the need for rhetoric, p.97, and physiognomics modified existing commonplaces of praise and blame, 'which worked to persuade the audience to identify with the speaker against the categorized Other, (Barton 1994 p.99).

²³⁷ Catullus 42.7-9.

²³⁸ *Samuel*. 21.12-15.

²³⁹ A similar insinuation to being unfit to rule could be contained in the story of Achilles who dressed up as a woman to escape going into Troy.

²⁴⁰ A.S.Yahuda, 'Medical and Anatomical Terms in the Pentateuch in the Light of Egyptian Medical Papyri', 1947 p.549-574, see p562-3. This notion needs further research. Barton (1994) p100-1 and n34 for physiognomics in Mesopotamia from second millennium BC.

²⁴¹ K. Cockayne, *Experiencing Old Age in Ancient Rome*, 2003, p.22; see p.12-15 for physiognomical factors; case study of aging and physical deterioration p.45-6.

²⁴² *Juv.Sat.* 10.191-228; Cockayne p.16.

Juvenal states that ‘all old men look alike. Their voices are as shaky as their limbs, their heads without hair, their noses drivelling as in childhood’,²⁴³ and this provides a template for old men, but the sources state that Claudius does not look or act like other men, (in a similar vein to Hephaistos is not like others), and this makes the description harder to apply to Claudius. Dio uses the first part, and Suetonius could appropriate the last section, but the sources do not bear comparison on this marker; Claudius was not bald, he could enjoy food and drink to excess, and having felt the cold for years his blood did not just cool in old age. Therefore the portrait is not one of advanced old age. Juvenal produces an attack on the decline into senility as the master cannot even remember names, and the faces of those who dined recently;²⁴⁴ this carries echoes of Claudius’ forgetfulness.²⁴⁵ Cicero wrote of ‘the old fools of the comic stage’ and he had in mind old men who were characterised by ‘credulity, forgetfulness, and carelessness, which are faults, not of old age generally but only of an old age that is drowsy slothful and inert’. Cicero adds that senility is characteristic ‘not of all old men, but only those who are weak in mind and will’.²⁴⁶

New Comedy utilised stock characters which could offer an opportunity for an author to use a character type that readers would recognise. Cicero writes of their existence because he was arguing that not all old men are like the stereotypical character in Theophrastus. If Claudius presented symptoms that corresponded to facets of this character, it might have allowed the use of a stereotype to fill in the blanks, or provide a different conclusion to reality. The evidence of Claudius’ governance of the empire would not point to a fool, but he is reported as being sleepy, lacking concentration, making inappropriate remarks and forgetful. All these characteristics fit the commonplace old man, which is reinforced by the reports of the concerns of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius. The cruelty of the picture in the sources is that it depicts someone who is *senium*, in addition to already being slow-witted – in effect he is doubly stupid.

²⁴³ Juv.*Sat.*10.198 trans. Ramsay; for the decline of memory with old age see Cockayne p.67-70.

²⁴⁴ Juv.*Sat.*10.232-236, trans. Ramsay.

²⁴⁵ Suet.*Claud.*XXXIX depicts absent-mindedness, and forgetting that Messalina had been executed.

²⁴⁶ Cic.*De Sen.*XI.36, trans. W. A. Falconer; see Cockayne p.68, 70, 77, n64, for examples of forgetfulness described by Cicero and Seneca; also see Tac.*Ann.*XI.38; Suet.*Iul.*28.3.

The interpretation of Claudius' illness requires consideration of the influence of literary and physiognomic factors, the allusions to old age and all that entails, no matter that it is inaccurate in portraying a man older than Claudius actually is. The probability that Claudius had some symptoms that fitted a stereotype provided a sitting target for the historians and biographers, it would be like shooting fish in a barrel – they can claim not only had Claudius always been a fool, but now he is an old fool.

The ideas and concepts of the *monstrum*, require extensive and an in-depth examination with regard to Claudius, more than can be achieved in this chapter. The *curiosi* want to see the disgusting and weird not the beautiful:²⁴⁷

'It was a great temptation to be fascinated. It was hard to resist, impossible to defeat, because it was born of longing and frustration and loss. The unsightly, the unspeakable – the *obscaenas*, *deformis* and *turpis*, *teater*, *foedus*, *immundus* – were things which confounded one. They should be hidden, their sighting expatiated'.²⁴⁸

Suetonius reports Augustus' reluctance to parade Claudius in the imperial box, preferring to keep him from view to prevent him being mocked by the *curiosi*. Suetonius implies there was something considerable to stare at, even if that was not the case. Whatever had upset Augustus and would have enticed the *curiosi* must have faded by AD44 when Claudius rode a chariot in triumph through the streets of Rome. More work is needed to identify the connection between the 'manifestation of the grotesque' resulting from the *derisor* and Claudius, but in outline there are some parallels that need further analysis.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ See C.A. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans, The Gladiator and the Monster*, 1993 p.86 cites Plut.*Mor.*520C. See Sen.*Contr.*10.4 for exposed children deliberately crippled to make better beggars. The ideas of role-playing, buffoonery and being part of the spectacles in Rome (see Barton (1993) p.133ff) being applied to Claudius in the sources require more research. For emperor as *stupidus* see Barton (1993) p.139-142. E.E.Philipp, 'Ancient records of Birth Defects', 2000 p.336 cites a volume that collected cases published between AD1495-1670 of congenital malformations, E. Hollander, *Wunder Geburt und Wunder Gestalt. Einblattdrucke des Funfzehnten bis Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart: von Ferdinand Enke, 1921, and G-J. Witkowski, *Histoire des accouchements chez tous les peuples*, Paris: Steinheil, 1887 includes 'monsters' and deformities from published literature.

²⁴⁸ Barton (1993) p.101.

²⁴⁹ Vatinius the deformed grotesque is a stooge for the *derisor* in mime. Tac.*Ann.*XV.34; after the upheavals of AD68-9 the *stupidus* and monster become scapegoats who allow for the preservation of a sense what being a Roman was by righting the structure of society, see Barton (1993) p.146-152. Apart from Seneca all the sources for Claudius are post AD69. The mimicry of the Cyclops dance of

There is a problem with judging levels or types of behaviour described by the sources; just because Tacitus, Suetonius or Dio characterise Claudius as someone who was mad for sex, food and drink, who allowed his wives and freedmen free rein, and who was the *rex stultorum*, the King of Fools, of the revamped Saturnalian festival,²⁵⁰ does not mean he was. It only means the sources portrayed him as such. There is the possibility that he did not appear in public as he did in private – the quiet stuttering academic transformed into a *princeps* who could speak. Is this transformation feasible, or was it even necessary, when the only characteristic that can alter is the dysfluency into some form of acceptable speech? When does the need to portray deformity become apparent? Before the accession Claudius would have been known as a sickly child who grew into a man with a limp, but if he stuttered he may have given ammunition to the *derisor*.

The sources provide valuable information that will be used in the following chapters. The importance of the work of Seneca cannot be overstated in this analysis because the *Apocolocyntosis* provides contemporary evidence of Claudius' gait, speech, head movement and hand tremor. Juvenal picks up the reference in Seneca to seals and

the satyr play, and animal impersonators on stage, the *scurra* (the jester or mime) and slapstick farce in Cicero, Livy and Horace see P. Corbett, *The Scurra*, 1986 p.44-69.

²⁵⁰ Discussion of Tacitus Saturnalian theme and the *rex stultorum*, in Barton (1993) p.152ff and n41-45. The life of Ulysses S. Grant, who is notoriously difficult to understand bears comparison on more than one level. Fuller calls him an enigma, 'a leaden man of no great spirit, of no imagination and of little thought' (J.F.C. Fuller, *Grant & Lee: a study in Personality and Generalship*, 1932 p.58) and although a brilliant general, this led to the impression of an indolent president. 'Grant is man of a good deal of rough dignity; rather taciturn; quick and decided in speech. He habitually wears an expression as if he had determined to drive his head through a brick wall and was about to do it', (letter of Colonel Lyman cited by Fuller p.83). He had previously resigned from the army due to heavy drinking, and when commanding the Union forces, the enormous losses at the battle of Shiloh opened the floodgates for innuendo and rumour about his drinking to pour from his rivals and 'to pin the mistakes at Shiloh - and by implications the huge butcher's bill - on Grant's weakness for liquor. Even today, people who could not find Shiloh on a map or tell you Grant's rank in the Civil War know one thing about him - he drank. Grant the President is barely recalled, but Grant the alcoholic has a kind of perverse glory that never fades. He has become the most famous drunk in American history...' (G. Perret, *Ulysses S. Grant, Soldier and President*, 1997 p.203). Perret examines evidence of Grant's alcoholism, and charges brought by a resentful subordinate that stained Grant's reputation with reports of drinking in command p.203-5. The point is that journalists and rivals smelled blood with negative consequences for Grant's reputation; it was not rescued by the positive and warm reaction of Mark Twain towards the President (Perret p.458-60). Claudius' reputation has suffered a similar battering at the hands of his critics, and the public perception of the emperor similarly hangs on one aspect of the man. In addition Claudius' alleged drinking to excess was noted by Suetonius, and Dio.

also provides a separate source for evidence of an oral discharge. Suetonius constructs a chapter that compresses the description of Claudius, to produce a synchronous picture at the end of Claudius' reign that requires contextualising to make sense. The influence of physiognomics in Suetonius' account is an important discovery in the understanding of Claudius', coupled with the 'scissors and paste' nature of the author's assembly process. The evidence of Josephus and Tacitus is no less important, but it does not offer the detail found in the other authors, and in the case of Dio, his work suffers from being the furthest chronologically from Claudius.

The discovery of the numismatic evidence is of prime importance because it offers independent evidence that corroborates what is in the literary sources regarding Claudius' right leg atrophy. The literary and iconographic evidence work together, and are important because the coins from the East, and the description by Seneca were all contemporary to Claudius lifetime. The iconography demonstrates the accuracy of the satirical portrait drawn by Seneca.

Taking existing scholarships and extending the range of the research has provided a new way of looking at Claudius. Determining and applying physiognomical practice to the evidence has produced interesting results, ones which help to show the influences of literature and myth on the historical portrait of Claudius as *princeps*.

The reference to seals is important on two levels: the voice and some form of dysfunction which may or may not refer to the stutter, and the awkward movements of seals on land. The ambiguous nature of seals is reflected in Augustus' worrying about Claudius' nature, but the motif allows Claudius to be presented as ambiguous, who crosses between categories, who can be legitimately portrayed in literary terms as a man-monster. It may be this ambiguity and category confusion that is reflected in the difficulties modern scholarship has had deciphering the evidence on Claudius' and his principate.

The influence of speech and stuttering on Claudius, and its reception by the Roman society, can only be tackled after the medical analysis which is the next link in the chain of deciphering the portrayal of Claudius in the sources, and it will establish whether the speech is a separate entity from any illness. This is important because a stutter is not a constant factor, yet speech problems of any type with a pathological connection are usually a constant factor. The next chapter will look at specific examples of illnesses where many of the symptoms described by the sources are found in the disease.

5. Assembly of a diagnosis or the manufacturing of a verdict?

This chapter will describe some of the diseases which could be candidates for the disease or illness suffered by Claudius but will turn out not to be. The aim is to consider diseases that show similar symptoms to the characteristics of Claudius' illness, and explain why they are not a feasible identification. To demonstrate current trends in the diagnosis of Claudius, the three most recent proposals from the medical community, dystonia, athetoid CP and Tourette's syndrome are scrutinised. Cerebral Palsy (CP) is one of the most important sides of the multi-faceted debate in Classics scholarship on Claudius' illness and the sections on CP discuss its symptoms and then examine the evidence for specific variants such as Congenital spastic hemiplegia as a possible diagnosis. The thesis will evaluate new areas of investigation regarding Claudius in Section 5.3; a disease may fit the description in the sources, yet can be ultimately rejected because of its severity, care management or prognosis. Tremor is investigated to help understand how the reported hand and head tremor may have manifested itself, while Cerebellar Dysarthria, and Olivopontocerebellar Atrophy have symptoms similar to those in the sources, so they are examined and can be removed from the final conclusion. It is important to demonstrate the methodology of removal of certain diseases that may at first glance seem appropriate, because the next chapter on polio will require a diagnosis of exclusion as part of its investigation. The concluding sections look at the possibility of recovery from an initial illness and then late onset or a relapse. The conclusion shows how a disease such as CP is an unlikely candidate for Claudius' illness. This chapter is therefore important, not for determining what Claudius' illness was, but establishing what it was *not*.

The initial problem one encounters when using symptomatic descriptions in the sources, is that they are not written by physicians and therefore provide non-medical descriptions of external signs, hence in some respects, to attempt to construct a plausible diagnosis suitable to 21st century medicine is an impossible task – 'For medicine as it existed among Greeks and Romans, one of the basic problems is simply conceptualisation, that is just how close were their concepts to ours'.¹

¹ J. Scarborough, *Roman Medicine*, 1961 p.11.

On the other hand, the fact that Claudius is described by non-medical writers may be the factor that saves this enterprise since they only tell the reader how the problem looked, not what they thought it was. If they include a description that has a literary resonance, one has to evaluate whether it was a true characteristic subjected to literary allusions, or whether it was physiognomic fabrication by the source in order to make a point about some facet of Claudius' character. Corroboration by other sources may prove useful, but it is not unreasonable to speculate that an original fabrication could be reproduced and even embellished by later writers. If they keep 'on message' long enough then the myth will overtake the reality; there will not be a full examination of this historiographical problem. This does not invalidate the argument that the sources hint at, and may provide the limits of, a reality underlying the literary descriptions, but one should be aware of the possibility of source corruption. Analysing the clinical symptoms will shed light on the validity of what has been written by the sources on Claudius' maladies, but there will not be an attempt at a psychological examination, even if psychological issues are discussed.

Cerebral palsy is the failsafe position for recent classical scholarship on Claudius,² a hypothesis possibly heavily influenced by the integration of disparate elements of the disorder under a single term.³ An alternative but earlier orthodox stance on Claudius was poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis),⁴ which is considered in the next chapter. The medical profession has been more adventurous in identifying some different candidates for the diagnosis of Claudius, and some are analysed below. This chapter will demonstrate how these diseases are unsatisfactory diagnoses according to the evidence available in the sources.

² T.C. de Coursey Ruth, p.131; E.F. Leon,(1948) p.79-86; M.T. Griffin (1984) p.30; J. Mottershead (1986) p.30ff., and 145-7; B. Levick (1989) p.13-16.

³ The term 'cerebral palsy' was first used by T.T.S.Ingram in 1964 for a group of non-progressive disorders, caused by a disease in the brain that impedes motor function Walton p.351; although disputed also gives the disorders classified under the term as quadriplegia, diplegia, Hemiplegia, ataxia, dyskinesia (dystonia, chorea, athetosis) and mixed forms (Walton p.351).

⁴ S. Baring-Gould, (1907) p.519 n1; A. Garzetti (1974) p.587; M.P. Charlesworth, *CAH* X p.667; H.H. Scullard, (1982) p.288.

The volumes of research produced by the medical profession dictated the need to be selective in terms of the research used.⁵ A decision was taken that wherever possible, this study would use the most recent research teams' work in each field. The result was to control the amount of information, especially information being duplicated by other teams, and there was no requirement for a historical review of pathology. Websites specific to each area were monitored where possible, for relevant information and for any advances in research; the PubMed, Medline and Highwire databases formed an invaluable resource.

5.1 Medicine and Classics: Modern Scholarship

This section will look at only three recent examples of scholar's attempts to arrive at a diagnosis for Claudius, but in the end it seems there is a communication failure between the disciplines of Medicine and Classics. Classicists as a group have not embraced medical techniques, and are less inclined to draw the field of Medicine over into their research, unless of course it is Ancient Medicine.⁶ The failure of a dialogue has hindered progress on the problem of Claudius – de Coursey Ruth was published in 1916 and the reliance on psychological profiling created a flawed methodology, but it was a brave attempt to analyse a way out of the problem. Since then the fields have attempted separate expeditions into the minefield of evidence, and the results have been unsatisfactory because they are incomplete. The aim has invariably been to establish the rehabilitation of Claudius' reputation by demonstrating his administrative capabilities as *princeps*, and to root this aim in some form of reality. Nevertheless, there has been only partial success because of a fundamental flaw in the reading of the sources and the subsequent application of pathology.

⁵ For example entering the term hemiplegia in PubMed elicited a response of 10,089 articles; polio 14,939; ALS 5,387; cerebral palsy 11,485; Tourette's syndrome 2,396; PPS 2,335; Parkinson's Disease 32,162.

⁶ A recent attempt at diagnosis keeps the proposals apart in distinct sections of Valente's medical exposition, and Talbert's explanation of the Ancient History, W.A.Valente, R. J. A Talbert, J. P Hallett, and P. A. Mackowiak, '*Caveat Cenans*', 2002.

5.1a Dystonia

Two recent studies, one by Valente *et al* and the other by Rice, have briefly studied the sources and produced conclusions that promote the movement disorder dystonia, a form of cerebral palsy (discussed in greater detail in 5.2 below), as Claudius' illness. This section will not write a major critique of their work, but their methodology requires some consideration to demonstrate the problems at hand. The initial clinical presentation makes assumptions about Claudius' childhood illnesses and adult symptoms in the form of a medical case study, and Valente's medical section summarises the earlier illnesses as measles, malaria, erysipelas (skin infection), colitis (inflammation of the colon) and obstipation (severe constipation),⁷ and that is in addition to a premature birth, head jerks/tics and a stutter which 'worsened with activity', and a movement disorder dyskinesia identified as dystonia.⁸ The difficulty for reaching a solution is made worse by a statement on the sources that Valente offered 'a new interpretation of their incomplete and, almost certainly, seriously flawed, clinical descriptions of this most complicated of the Julio-Claudians'.⁹ As has been discussed earlier the sources are not writing medical or clinical descriptions, they are not physicians.

Taking Suet.*Claud.*XXX and the *Apocolocyntosis* literally, plus using numismatic iconography to show a 'massive enlargement of the sternocleidomastoid muscle' which has been considered in the examination of the influence of physiognomics in chapter four, Valente proceeds to exclude Tourette's, chorea, and cervical, limb and primary dystonias. An encephalitis causing dystonia is dismissed because of the effect on cognitive function, and the result is Valente is left to propose a congenital or acquired secondary dystonia. Valente goes further to explain the complex matrix of symptoms by his theory of a "Claudian Complex" – 'a stable, lifelong, nonprogressive dystonia, with primary involvement of the cranial-cervical muscle groups, less prominent involvement of the arms and legs and a normal life span'.¹⁰ The etiology is related to premature birth but could be the result of a post infectious encephalopathy or DYT gene mutation, and a secondary dystonia may present as athetoid CP or dyskinetic CP.¹¹ Valente claims the

⁷ Valente *et al* p.392.

⁸ Valente *et al* p.393.

⁹ Valente *et al* p.397.

¹⁰ Valente *et al* p.393-4.

¹¹ Valente *et al* p.395, and see p.398 n12-15 for other disorders related to perinatal asphyxia.

disorder is a factor in the cause of Claudius' death as it complicated poisoning using muscarinic mushrooms.¹² Valente does not tackle the dysarthria, but his collaborator Talbert acknowledges there is an inconsistency between this and speaking clearly, but puts that down to the unpredictability of the dyskinesia. The "Claudian Complex" is an unnecessary diversion and seems to be driven by the explanation of the poisoning - his conclusion assumes without question that the poisoning occurred. The main problem with this proposal is being asked to accept that the stable non-progressive dystonia would be apparent from childhood onwards.

Rice concentrates on the factor of a dyskinesia and proposes dystonia, one of the movement disorders that come under the CP group, as the most likely answer to Claudius' difficulties. Rice also introduces some helpful insight on the existence of an early childhood illness, and tackles the problem of dysarthria as a major plank of the proposal.

The most common problem for children with CP is dysarthria, in which the lack of motor control of some of the muscles also used in eating causes slurred speech and for some involuntary grimacing during speech; in many cases hypernasal or hyponasal speech results, where too much or too little air passes through the nasal passages while speaking and affects voice quality.¹³ Dysarthria is also a consequence of dystonia,¹⁴ and the work of Rice argues that: the speech disturbance detailed in *Sen.Apoc.5.3*, the voice of no land animal typical of sea-beasts, which is hoarse and inarticulate can only be dysarthria with possible dysphonia – this factor reduces the strength of the claim of *Dio.60.2.2* where Claudius' 'faltering voice', and his 'indistinct utterances' in

¹² Valente *et al* p.396.

¹³ <http://hsc.virginia.edu/cmc/tutorials/cp/problems/problems.html>, 18/04/03.

¹⁴ S.Fahn, S.B.Bressman, M.F.Brin, 'Dystonia', 1995 p.705ff.; Green p.476; J.E.Rice, 'The emperor with the shaking head: Claudius' movement disorder', 2000 p.198-201 concludes that Claudius suffered from Dystonia. The concentration on the evidence regarding movement disorder and speech disturbance has several anomalies because they are not given proper context, and example being citing portraits of Claudius showing a full neck, 'disproportionately large cervical musculature' Rice p199. Coin portraits of Augustus and Gaius show the same form of neck, whilst the exaggerated neck is not on all the coin portraits. See *BMCRI* Aug. nos. 22, pl.1.13 Rome, 351 pl. 7.5 352 pl.7.6, 353 pl.7.7, 354 pl.7.8, 354-7 pl.7.8, 357 pl.7.9, 358 pl.7.10 from an uncertain Spanish Mint 19-16/15 BC; for Gaius nos. 1-5 pl.27.1-4, 6 l.27.5, 7 pl.27.6, 8-9 pl.27.7, 10 pl.27.8, 11-12 pl.27.9, 13 pl.27.10, all from Lugdunum AD37-38; and 14-20 pl.27.11-16, 21-27 pl.27.17-22, 28 pl.27.23, 29 pl.27.24 all from Rome AD37-38, 40; also see Appendix 5.4; Rice links the coins of Claudius to Suet.*Claud.XXX* and *opimis cervicibus*, which is in fact a direct contrast to Gaius' *gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum*, 'very thin neck and legs' Suet.*Gaius.L.*, trans. Rolfe.

Sen.*Apoc.*7.2, are of secondary importance, although indistinct speech is a feature of dysarthria. The statement from Suet.*Claud.*XXX that Claudius stuttered is reduced to a question by Rice and no connection is drawn to other factors except the claim that the speech disturbance progressively worsened, the reason is given that Claudius gave a public recital in his youth and used professional readers when emperor;¹⁵ but that can be countered by the point that Claudius was giving a reading of a work guided by Livy ‘he had difficulty in finishing since he more than once threw cold water on his performance’.¹⁶ Having concluded the preliminary research on Claudius’ speech the topic of stuttering and dysfluency merits further attention in the future. There is no suggestion in the sources of hoarseness or poor voice quality, and there is no comment on Claudius delivering the Lyon speech, for example, without recourse to a professional reader which mitigates against a deteriorating condition. Rice concludes that evidence points to ‘a secondary dystonia which may be non-progressive after an initiating insult and in which early involvement of speech is more common’.¹⁷ Dystonia usually shows symptoms of persistent muscle contractions that cause sinuous or writhing movements of the limbs and trunk, and involve abnormal postures – the assertion is that in some cases these motions can be rapid enough to mimic tremor, aggravated by voluntary movement involving limb, cervical, cranial or laryngeal muscles. This is exactly what Seneca and Suetonius describe on the surface, but the assumption that the condition is non-progressive from childhood presents difficulties.

Rice’s assessment of the sources that ‘evidence points to onset *after* infancy and early childhood’¹⁸ is useful, but the reasoning given uses the completion of Claudius’ formal education and does not consider the possibility that any illness could still leave the child unimpaired.¹⁹ In addition ‘there is no real evidence to support progression in his gait disturbance or his involuntary movements over his lifetime’,²⁰ in other words because of

¹⁵ Rice p.199.

¹⁶ Suet.*Claud.*XLI.1, *Et cum primum frequenti auditorio commisisset, aegre perlegit refrigeratus saepe a semet ipso. Nam cum initio recitationis defractis compluribus subselliis obesitate cuiusdam risus exortus esset, ne sedato quidem tumultu temperare potuit, quin ex intervallo subinde facti reminisceretur cahinnosque revocaret. In principatu quoque et scripsit plurimum et assidue recitavit per lectorem.*

‘But when he gave his first reading to a large audience, he had difficulty in finishing, since he more than once threw cold water on his own performance. For at the beginning of the reading the breaking down of several benches by a fat man raised a laugh, and even after the disturbance was quieted, Claudius could not keep from recalling the incident and renewing his guffaws’, trans. Rolfe.

¹⁷ Rice p.200.

¹⁸ Rice p.199.

¹⁹ This point will be discussed later in the section on polio and PPS.

²⁰ Rice p.200.

Suetonius ‘the impression is of a static and non-progressive condition’.²¹ This really depends on how one interprets Suetonius; the symptoms as reported do not hint at a progression, but they may be a description of a point in time and apply to Claudius as emperor, not as a child or youth. This theme will be expanded upon later in the chapter, because it would take some suspension of disbelief to project Suet.*Claud.*XXX on to the 48 hours after the death of Gaius, and the non-progressive condition that Rice proposes would not work if Suetonius or Seneca were describing the final stage of a progressive illness.²²

In reply Pearce writes that diagnosis is difficult in retrospect with so little evidence,²³ but goes on to suggest that a diagnosis of secondary dystonia would have resulted in the patient being hidden away – Rice examines social embarrassment and reasonably concludes Claudius was only partially protected from public gaze.²⁴ Pearce cites Mottershead²⁵ in agreement with his suggestion of ‘athetoid cerebral palsy where gait disorder, abnormal movements of the head and hands, dysarthria, hypertrophy of the neck muscles,²⁶ unseemly laughter and anger are characteristic’.²⁷ The difference between dystonia and athetoid CP would be marginal if the Romans were to hide anyone away²⁸ – if the imperial family were uncomfortable with one, they would be uncomfortable with the other.

²¹ Rice p.200.

²² Unfortunately there is no reference to Juvenal cited, and no historiographical analysis or context – Rice states that Suetonius wrote a biography which may have been influenced by Nero’s assertion that he was going to do everything possible to blacken the name and memory of Claudius, Suet.*Nero.*XXXIII.

²³ J.M.Pearce, ‘The emperor with the shaking head’, 2000 p.335-6.

²⁴ Rice p.198-9.

²⁵ J.Mottershead, *Suetonius Claudius*, 1986 p.145.

²⁶ For a discussion of physiognomics including reference to the neck, see T.S.Barton (2001)p.95-131.

²⁷ Pearce p.335.

²⁸ See Suet.*Aug.*LXV.1; 2.4 for adoption and banishment of Agrippa for not living up to the required standards of behaviour

5.1b spastic athetoid CP

From a medical standpoint, Ohry's proposal makes a case for spastic athetoid CP and requires further deliberation and context amongst the other beliefs about Claudius. It is significant that Ohry points out that drooling is not a feature of dystonia, and he concurs with Pearce in the diagnosis of CP, but possibly a deteriorating condition of a 'stable non-deteriorating disability' that worsens over time.²⁹ This view does not concur with the stable "Claudian Complex" of Valente. Neither proposes PPS but it would fit their chronology requirement. In addition, the proposal that Claudius displays Petit Mal³⁰ seizures because of brain damage is unsupported by any indication in the hypothesis of the severity of the seizures. Even so, in a separate paper Ohry and Levy conclude that Claudius had a non-progressive congenital disorder: 'the most plausible hypothesis would be that he suffered from cerebral palsy, or Little's Disease, the spastic athetoid variant'.³¹ Little's Disease is defined as Spastic Diplegia, where spasticity is confined mainly to both legs and to a much lesser extent the arms and face, and is a clinical variant of CP. The result is the conclusion is weakened by the definition of the disorder, and Claudius would be either hemiplegic or monoplegic because of dragging his right leg in Sen.*Apoc.*5.2.

Spastic athetoid CP is a mixed form of Cerebral Palsy with the spasticity present in stiff muscles and the athetoid uncontrolled writhing movements of the limbs which 'often increase during periods of emotional stress and disappear during sleep'. Athetosis is a

²⁹ A. Ohry, 'The emperor with the shaking head', 2000 p.550.

³⁰ 'These seizures are characterized by staring, subtle body movement and brief lapses of awareness. They're usually brief, and typically no confusion or sleepiness occurs when the seizure is over', the Mayo Clinic, <http://www.mayoclinic.com/invite.cfm?objectid=352B66F5-CF68-45A7-A0E816C2832ABA06§ion=2>. These seizures commonly occur in children, onset between 6-12 and usually before 20 years old, may last from seconds to minutes so hundreds may occur throughout the day, 'during a petit mal seizure, small jerks sometimes occur involving the facial muscles, jaw or hands' (Mayo Clinic); all these symptoms could loosely be applied to the reports of Claudius in his youth, but they are less appropriate to his adulthood. Petit mal seizures are a component of epilepsy.

³¹ A. Ohry, A. Levy, 'Emperor Claudius a Medical Paradox', 1985 p.11-13. In this article mental retardation, Grand mal seizures, and *tabes dorsalis* are eliminated as possible diagnoses. Note that Little's disease is defined as Spastic Diplegia, and spasticity is confined mainly to the legs and to a lesser extent the arms and face. It is a clinical variant of CP, and while spastic athetoid CP is a mixed variant with stiff muscles and a writhing movement of the limbs, www.ninds.nih.gov/health_and_medical/pubs/cerebral_palsy.htm; the report of Suetonius that Claudius' shaking head was worse under stress could apply here, except that the athetoid movement is sinuous not tremulous, and it is in spastic hemiparesis where hemiparetic tremors (uncontrollable shaking) affects one side of the body, and even affect motion (NINDS CP). If the athetoid CP affects the muscles for speech, the result is dysarthria and this is a permanent factor.

dyskinesia, one of the extrapyramidal movement disorders similar to chorea or essential tremor, and not an akinetic-rigid syndrome like Parkinson's.³² The athetoid movement has been discussed earlier, and in review, there is a disturbance of the control of posture and movement, as well as dysarthria and facial grimaces. As an infant hypotonia would be followed by voluntary movements being impeded by the involuntary movements in the limbs and trunk.³³ Walton describes the movement between two postures in an upper limb: an exaggerated flexion of the wrist and hyperextension of the fingers, which changes to flexion of the fingers - the change between the two positions happens one finger after another.³⁴ What is of interest is that any writhing movement in the lower limb is normally not as obvious, and that shoulder and elbow movement is exaggerated, and might invite a comment if a symptom of Claudius.

Emotional outbursts such as involuntary crying or laughing are not uncommon, but for this study the significant factor is dysarthria, and in that case it is the result of the uncontrolled movements of the muscles of the mouth and throat used to produce speech. This means the muscles are moving involuntary, and this can mean a writhing and protruding tongue; another consequence of the laryngeal muscle disorder is dysphagia. All these factors match the symptoms of Claudius on a basic level, but they fail to be applicable when the involuntary nature of the movement and the sounds produced, which could be interpreted as a stutter, until there is evidence of Claudius delivering a speech, even one read out. Dysarthria because of an athetoid movement would prevent an ability to ever deliver a clear speech such as the Lyon speech.

The difficulty with the diagnosis of a non-progressive disease is that Claudius would be subject to it from onset; on the other hand, if it is a degenerative disease then one has to specify onset in order to be able to conclude there is a degenerative process. A 'comorbidity' of CP is epilepsy, and other deficits are mental retardation, and

³²Sir J. Walton, *Brain's Diseases of the Nervous System*, 1985 p.322-3 and table 12.1.

³³ Rendle-Short, Gray & Dodge, p.321, and athetosis may be the result of neonatal hypoxia, or blood incompatibility between mother and foetus, which is less common now, see p.251-2, 402-8.

³⁴ Walton p.322.

hearing/vision impairment.³⁵ A study of mortality in children with developmental disabilities (DD), which includes cerebral palsy, found that 'people with cerebral palsy appear to be at exceptionally high risk for increased death during childhood, adolescence and young adulthood'.³⁶ The results of the study demonstrate that 'cause-specific mortality ratios varied by the number of disabilities present',³⁷ which means that any combination of athetoid CP, epilepsy and hearing impairment in Claudius significantly increased his chances of early mortality, and the risks would probably have been increased further in the 1st century when medical interventions were not as advanced as now,³⁸ although it is difficult to assess the gross motor function of Claudius' symptoms.³⁹

Although it is difficult to project, on the surface there may some correlation between the behavioural problems associated with cerebral palsy and the behavioural problems associated with Claudius. This presents interpretation problems because the input of the secondary sources may have coloured the reading of the sources. The clinical observations of children's development are a useful benchmark and Oswin describes the patterns of life and development for a child growing up with cerebral palsy,⁴⁰ and the strain placed upon the family by the diagnosis of an incurable disease.⁴¹ The problem is that this may not be easily applied to Claudius. The term "challenging behaviour"

³⁵ P.Rosenbaum, 'Cerebral Palsy: what parents and doctors want to know', 2003 p.970-74.

³⁶ P.Decouflé, A.Autry, 'Increased mortality in children and adolescents with developmental disabilities', 2002 p.375-82, p.376. The study was a follow-up to a study in Atlanta of a cohort of 1,584 ten year old children with DD in 1985-87, and the aim was to assess the mortality rate due to children having one or more disabilities (mental retardation 67%, CP 13%, epilepsy 34%, hearing or vision impairment) in the period 1985-95, 'these conditions arise between birth and 18 years of age, are for the most part lifelong and are generally not curable at present.' p.375 and table 1. The general trend was for mortality ratios (observed deaths divided by expected deaths) to increase with the number of disabilities present, and that none of the 30 deaths had isolated CP; 'among the 14 deaths in children with cerebral palsy, epilepsy was present in all 14, mental retardation occurred in 13 (12 severe, one mild) and vision impairment was present in six' p.379 see table 3. The conclusion was drawn that children with one disability had a higher risk of dying from cardiovascular disease, and if two or more were present then a higher risk of death was from diseases of the nervous system and from 'all other causes', p.379.

³⁷ Decouflé & Autry (2002) p.379.

³⁸ Rosenbaum (2003) p.972-73 for modern treatment and management of CP.

³⁹ Rosenbaum (2003) p.971 box 3, for classification system of gross motor function for children 6-12 years; children with hemiplegic CP can have intellectual and behavioural problems, which out of context could be made to apply to Claudius, 'children with hemiplegic cerebral palsy reported by teachers in mainstream schools indicate that such children are at high risk of rejection by peers, lack of friends, and victimisation' Rosenbaum p.971.

⁴⁰ M.Oswin, *Behavioural Problems amongst children with cerebral palsy*, 1967 p.10-13.

⁴¹ Oswin (1967) p.14-18, and discusses the incidence of mental breakdown in parents, guilt, overprotective parenting, sibling resentment, and the need for constant care of the child.

describes four main categories, and all that can be associated with cerebral palsy.⁴² There is a link to cognitive impairment and is a result of being unable to communicate effectively – Claudius can be ruled out of this category, because there is no evidence of such a degree of impairment. In addition to challenging behaviour, there may also be perceptual disturbances and an inability to reason, neither of which seem appropriate to Claudius;⁴³ but these factors demonstrate the difficulty of applying behavioural characteristics to Claudius when the (source) descriptions used for assessment are not based on objective observation. What constitutes challenging behaviour in first century Rome may not map exactly on to the definition in the twenty-first century.

A diagnosis of CP creates problems because of generalisation.⁴⁴ Factors may fit the general outlines or share features with common factors but when one looks at more specific disorders discrepancies arise between the evidence and the proposed diagnosis. If one examines a single factor like drooling, then in Hemiplegia for example, if drooling is present the patients require help in terms of feeding, because of the extent of the disability; there is no evidence that Claudius required help to feed himself from childhood onwards.

The snag with proposing either dystonia or athetoid CP is that they are early onset disorders, ones that become apparent in early childhood, and all the associated problems and complications would be present throughout a lifetime.⁴⁵ In addition, the twisting

⁴² Self-injuring (head-banging, poking, eating non-foods); aggressive (biting, screaming, verbal abuse, hitting); stereotyped (repetitive movement/rocking, repetitive speech); non-person directed behaviour (hyperactivity, damage to property, temper tantrums, incontinence), NMAP, www.nmap.ac.uk/browse/rcn/487.html. 15/08/05.

⁴³ Oswin (1967) p.26ff describes the behaviour problems, and two are of note: "perseveration", the constant repetition of an action/movement (p.43-4), and "distractibility" when the slightest stimulus will break concentration (p.40-3) - neither seem applicable but are major characteristics of cerebral palsy.

⁴⁴ Supposition creates further problems, as Levick states the spasticity on the right side of the body in arm and leg is probably the result of premature birth, and the vocal peculiarities and the dribbling were caused by lesions in the cerebral cortex. Levick points to the later change in Claudius' health (in Suetonius) where only the stomach disorder was present – and concludes 'this suggests that there was a psychological component in his condition, which was mitigated after he had something to live for', Levick p.14 and n8, 10. The conclusion that he was only troubled by stomach pain and not the symptoms of cerebral palsy that were present is difficult to reconcile with the evidence.

Rice (2000) p.198-200; De Coursey Ruth (1913) p.113-37.

⁴⁵ An exception is Hemidystonia which usually asymmetric and is often the result of a stroke and the symptoms do not spread like other dystonias., which in regard to Claudius would not explain any early illness. Early onset 5-16 years will spread to all the limbs and trunk before the rate of progress slows after adolescence, and if it is early adulthood it will be a focal (localised) or segmental (two adjacent body parts)

motion associated with dystonia, be it in the trunk, limbs or neck is not evident in the literary descriptions and although harder to determine from literary evidence, the muscle stiffness of cerebral palsy is not apparent either.⁴⁶ The struggle to move and to control movement, to be understood, the challenging behaviour (if present), and for some a cognitive deficit makes things even harder - none of these are transient symptoms. Although the symptoms of athetoid CP may be found in the description of Claudius, and match some of the signs for a diagnosis, it does not deal with one significant point: these are factors that would be present all the patient's life and as a diagnosis for Claudius does not address the paradox in the sources between capable and incapable.

5.1c Gilles de la Tourette's Syndrome

Continuing with the theme of modern investigations, Thygesen has suggested that Tourette's syndrome (TS) is consistent with the evidence available on Claudius.⁴⁷ The main features of TS are: onset before eighteen, motor and phonic tics that vary in severity over time; motor tics begin around 3-8yrs old and have normally reduced by 19-20 years, whilst phonic tics begin at 3yrs and reduce by the age of 19-20 years.⁴⁸ The most serious cases are found in adults where self-injury is possible, combined with coprolalia (obscene outburst) and echolalia (precise repetition of another's words); the vocal tics are the symptoms that define Tourette's Syndrome and they can take the form of explosive coughs, or barks or shouts.⁴⁹ Matching the evidence to the diagnostic criteria for TS is not easy from the sources, as criteria 1-2 below need close observation of the patient. The second criterion is difficult to establish, and on the fourth point some account should be taken of Claudius' (unquantifiable) alcohol intake. The onset before eighteen is possible and would allow for TS to continue throughout Claudius' life.

dystonia; www.ninds.nih.gov/health_and_medical/pubs/dystonias.htm. None of these combinations work infallibly for the evidence that is available re Claudius.

⁴⁶ See Sen.*Apoc.*5.2 for Claudius' hand gesture, and later in this chapter for discussion of the text. Muscle stiffness could be present in the right leg, hence why he dragged it, but if that was the case it would probably be present in the arm as well, which is not what Seneca describes.

⁴⁷ J.E.Mohr Thygesen, 'A Probable Diagnosis of the Roman Emperor Claudius', 1987 p.53-8.

⁴⁸ J.F.Leckman, 'Tourette's Syndrome', 2002 p.1577-86.

⁴⁹ S.Fahn, 'Gilles de la Tourette's Syndrome', 2005, p.704-5; Leckman p.1577; also see Hall & Hill ((1995) p.317; Ellis (1988) p.148.

Diagnostic Criteria for Tourette's Syndrome:⁵⁰

1. the motor tics (multiple) and the vocal tics must be present at the same time, doesn't have to occur together
2. the tics occur in bouts, daily or on-and-off for over a year, with no period more than three months free from tics.
3. onset at less than 18 years
4. tics not due to effects of drugs/stimulants or another illness.

The tics in TS are the major component, and some account should be taken in the investigation that this illness would be present throughout Claudius' life, and would be present and obvious at the accession, and after becoming *princeps*. Tics usually begin in the face and move to the neck, and can spread to the limbs;⁵¹ and these tics are aggravated by excitement. They take the form of 'shoulder shrugging, head bobbing, arm thrusting, leg kicking, neck stretching and foot stomping',⁵² and regarding vocal tics, 'repeated grunting, shouting, murmuring, throat clearing, tongue clicking, yelping and sniffing may occur'.⁵³ Thygesen includes stammering as a symptom of TS (stuttering requires discussed later), and states patients with TS are described as 'infantile, weak-willed and self-effacing. Demented speech and poor motivated outbursts of rage and laughter are accompanied by screaming and spitting'.⁵⁴ The behaviour demonstrates the co-existing disorders of Hyperkinesia and Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder. As age increases the tics reduce their prevalence whilst these disorders become the main dysfunction.⁵⁵

Thygesen finds no other Julio-Claudian with similar symptoms, and asserts that the frequent childhood fevers point to an organic origin for the disease,⁵⁶ but there is 'evidence that genetic factors are implicated in vertical transmission in families with vulnerability of Tourette's syndrome and related disorders'.⁵⁷ Thygesen adds that a

⁵⁰ <http://www.tourettes-disorder.com/dsm.html#icd10>, 9/08/05, Criteria for 307.23 Tourette's in *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th ed (DSM-IV-TR).

⁵¹ Fahn (2005) p.705.

⁵² MayoClinic <http://www.mayoclinic.com/invoke.cfm?objectid=1C9DEF2F-F176-424A-98E921E2D3DCC833>.

⁵³ MayoClinic <http://www.mayoclinic.com/invoke.cfm?objectid=1C9DEF2F-F176-424A-98E921E2D3DCC833>

⁵⁴ Thygesen (1987) p.53 and note 12.

⁵⁵ Leckman (2002) p.1578 and fig.2.

⁵⁶ Thygesen (1987) p.54; the proposal of the organic origin may be applicable to another neurological disease.

⁵⁷ Leckman (2002) p.1578-79; also see Fahn (2005) p.705; SJ Ellis (1988) p.148; Hall & Hill (1995) p.357; the MayoClinic states 'TS occasionally can occur in people with no genetic disposition or family history of the condition'.

possible childhood infection such as non-lethal encephalitis or polio encephalitis may have caused 'minimal brain damage', or alternatively that poliomyelitis caused temporary and permanent palsies.⁵⁸

There is a solution offered that combines factors into TS. Thygesen only partially attributes Claudius dragging his right leg to encephalitis or polio, because one option he raises is the movement disorder in the leg might have been a tic, whilst his faltering, hoarse speech, is gauged as a stutter in conjunction with the tics. This seems to complicate the picture, if the tics were part of a stuttering avoidance technique and they would not therefore be a symptom of TS, in which case they would not be tics. Recent research has established that the dysfluency of those patients with TS had symptoms that resembled cluttering, palilalia and stuttering but they were also different from these types of dysfluency.⁵⁹ However further research has concluded 'the data obtained from such direct observations failed to confirm the presence of a generally higher prevalence of stuttering disfluencies in children with TS. Instead, the speech of children with TS was characterized by a higher frequency of *more typical* disfluencies'.⁶⁰

The inappropriate remarks for a *princeps* in Suet.*Claud.*XL.3 are stated as being consistent with palilalia/echolalia,⁶¹ but that seems to be supposition and there is no examination of what constitutes inappropriate in each context. Thygesen's conclusion is that Claudius' abrupt ill-timed and improper exclamations are consistent with TS; in

⁵⁸ Thygesen (1987) p.54-5, which includes respiratory problems, and fevers were probably caused by recurring pneumonia. The encephalitis is the inflammation of brain tissue caused by a viral infection, for Encephalitis see Rendle-Short, Gray & Dodge (1985) p.338. For polioencephalitis see Richard L. Bruno, Nancy M. Frick, Jesse Cohen, M.D. 'Polioencephalitis, Stress and the Etiology of Post-Polio Sequelae', *Orthopedics*, 14 (1991) 1269-1276.

⁵⁹ J. Van Borsel, L. Goethals, M. Vanryckeghem, 'Disfluency in Tourette Syndrome: Observational Study in Three Cases', *Folia Phoniatrica et Logopaedica* 56 (2004) 358-366 found that the dysfluency of those patients with TS had symptoms that resembled cluttering, palilalia and stuttering but they were also different from these types of dysfluency.

⁶⁰ L.F. De Nil J. Sasisekaran P.H.H.M. Van Lieshout and P. Sandor, 'Speech disfluencies in individuals with Tourette's syndrome', *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* 58.1 (2005) 97-102. Science Direct online, 9/08/05.

⁶¹ Thygesen (1987) p.56 and note 37; palilalia/echolalia where compulsive repetition of the same sentence over and over occurs. See van Borsel, Goethals and Vanryckeghem.

addition even with no evidence of coprolalia, Thygesen states the outbursts of anger⁶² and fits of laughter⁶³ demonstrates the behaviour similar to TS.⁶⁴

However TS does not account for any dysarthria, the abnormal gait, the stutter which as echolalia is not a stutter, cold intolerance or the sleep disorder. Conversely, if behavioural problems associated with TS were present in Claudius from early childhood there would be 'a negative effect on peer acceptance, school performance and self-esteem',⁶⁵ which would have impacted on his ability to perform educational tasks, let alone the office of *princeps*.

The motor and phonic tics present in TS occur in bouts over a day, and their severity changes over days and months; each bout or episode has a stable intra-tic interval of 0.5-1 sec, and these bouts happen in groups with χ episodes occurring over the course of a month, so it is not a constant factor. The result is not an impression of continuously occurring tics; Claudius' head is said to have shaken constantly, although the evidence points to a connection in the sources with a stutter or attempts to speak - for example Suetonius and Seneca do not separate the two factors which may imply there is a connection between effort and speech. TS does become more apparent during stress or excitement, but the same can occur for a stutter, and both are therefore consistent with the report of Claudius' shaking head as in Seneca, but not one that constantly shakes as stated by Suetonius.

Leckman points out there is some correspondence between TS and Sydenham's Chorea because of lesions in the Central Nervous System (CNS), affecting the same neurological areas which result in some patients having 'motor and phonic tics and

⁶² Suet.*Claud.*XXXVI.1.

⁶³ Suet.*Claud.*XLI.1.

⁶⁴ 'Increased irritability and rage attacks, and an increased vulnerability for drug abuse, depression and antisocial behaviour are also not uncommon among patients with Tourette's syndrome and Hyperkinetic disorder' Leckman (2002) p.1578, and it is lesser variants of these factors that are typical of TS sufferers.

⁶⁵ Leckman (2002) p.1587, 1581-82. The apparent rejection by Antonia is balanced by the dilemma of Augustus about Claudius' future; while it may be true that Augustus was worried about Claudius being in public this does not imply that he was concerned about unseemly outbursts of physical or vocal behaviour. I would argue that far from being rejected by his peers, Claudius was held in the utmost respect by the *equites*, and senators who were his peers in the years before he became *princeps*.

symptoms of obsessive-compulsive disorder and attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder',⁶⁶ suggesting in some cases a common cause. Sydenham's Chorea has as a major factor chorea, a movement disorder where there is 'arrhythmic movements of a forcible, rapid, jerky type, affecting the fingers, hand, an entire limb or some other part of the body. Grimacing and respiratory sounds are other expressions of the same disorder. Between movements the affected limbs tend to be slack'.⁶⁷ Choreoathetoid speech is 'slow, halting and uneven in volume, accompanied by grimacing due to superimposition of involuntary movements of the face, tongue, pharynx and larynx'.⁶⁸

Chorea seems unlikely in relation to Claudius as movements are *involuntary* and it is unlikely that they would pass without comment, whilst TS, which Thygesen allies to hyperkinetic disorders and obsessive-compulsive behaviour, is less plausible because of the extreme behaviour of the latter components which 'detract from the patient's overall quality of life. In addition, without early intervention to prevent adverse long-term results a hyperkinetic disorder would make childhood, education and peer acceptance very difficult to achieve'.⁶⁹ Uncontrollable rage attacks and what would now be seen as serious antisocial behaviour would probably rule Claudius out from any office under Augustus and Tiberius, and the symptoms of emotional outbursts of anger recorded as an adult, are entirely subjective and are susceptible to satire as in *Apocolocyntosis*.⁷⁰ Claudius' education seems to have suffered little, as the tics are unsubstantiated in the texts unless they are movements connected to attempts at initiating speech. There are similarities between some factors of TS and stuttering, and the factors can co-occur, but in children, the dysfluency is nearer to normal childhood dysfluency.⁷¹

The relative concentration on behaviour, and aspects of behaviour by Thygesen, and de Coursey Ruth in analysing Claudius, creates problems because they are using subjective

⁶⁶ Leckman (2002) p.1579.

⁶⁷ R.D.Adams. M.Victor. A.H.Ropper, *Principles of Neurology Companion Handbook*, 1998 p.38; if limited to one side of the body it is called hemichorea, and if a hemiplegic patient is recovering from an initial illness this may evolve into hemichoreoathetosis where movements are smoother and confluent.

⁶⁸ Adams, Victor & Ropper (1998) p.310 .

⁶⁹ Leckman (2002) p.1578.

⁷⁰ Sen.*Apoc.*6.2.

⁷¹ 'Unlike children with developmental stuttering, disfluencies such as part-word repetitions, prolongations and blocks do not appear to be a common characteristic of the speech of children with Tourette's Syndrome'. <http://www.stutteringhelp.org/brochures/tourette.htm>, 12/01/05.

reports by a third party of a subject's emotional reactions,⁷² and the veracity of the description of anger or laughter is unclear. Anger may simply stem from frustration and not a chemical imbalance or from a psychological root – but there is no way of knowing which. Therefore to base a substantial part of a diagnosis on emotional descriptions is of questionable reliability, no matter how plausible it may seem. The influence of de Coursey Ruth's work should not be underestimated, but some scholars have used this work as a validation for later conclusions and although it is entirely justified to use behavioural reports in order to create a later biographical portrait of Claudius, it becomes more problematic when trying to diagnose specific medical conditions. Each statement in the sources requires a contemporary framework and explanation in order to quantify the reported reaction, because without this methodology it does not allow a case to be made such as the hypothetical: *Claudius had outbursts of anger therefore there is evidence consistent with a hyperkinetic disorder and TS*. This does not of course mean that Claudius may not have had these disorders, only that it is very difficult to construct a case for it.

5.2 The 'umbrella' of Cerebral Palsy

Cerebral palsy forms a major plank of the historical work based on Claudius' illness, to such an extent that it warrants a detailed examination of the illness. This section will provide a detailed discussion of the non-progressive disorder in order to demonstrate the weakness of the argument that CP is the disorder Claudius had from childhood. Cerebral Palsy is not a single or a specific condition, as it encompasses many movement disorders;⁷³ the definition includes different levels of problem, from the hardly

⁷² Unlike Josephus, Juvenal, Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio, only Seneca had first hand experience of Claudius as demonstrated by his *Ad Polybium* and *Apocolocyntosis*.

⁷³ D.M.B. Hall, P.D. Hill, *The child with a Disability*, 1995 p.237 and Table 14.1 for the range of disorders and their clinical definitions. 'Cerebral palsy is a group of disorders characterized by loss of movement or loss of other nerve functions. These disorders are caused by injuries to the brain that occur during fetal development or near the time of birth.' Medline <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/cerebralpalsy.html> 1/09/03; although this is in contrast to 'For many years doctors and researchers believed that cerebral palsy was closely linked with events occurring during labor and birth. Now they believe this is less frequently the reason. The many possible causes of cerebral palsy now identified include: Abnormal brain development, insufficient circulation to areas of the brain either before or after birth, infection in or beside the brain, bleeding in the brain, biochemical or genetic factors, or other unknown causes', Mayo Clinic <http://www.mayoclinic.com/invoke.cfm?objectid=D61A3F48-111D-4EB8>

detectable mild hemiplegia to severe quadriplegia and learning difficulties.⁷⁴ CP is a group of disorders that are non-progressive, and are permanent in that they do not deteriorate over time,⁷⁵ and in CP the fault does not lie in the muscles or nerves, but with damage in the motor areas of the brain controlling movement and posture.⁷⁶ The problem is with muscle tone, and it is this resistance to movement that allows control of posture.⁷⁷ The resulting symptoms may be finding fine motor tasks difficult, or there may be uncontrollable movements like drooling; if the CP is mild there may only be some awkwardness, and no special needs, whilst severe cases may require lifelong care.⁷⁸ In terms of the asymmetric distribution of a movement disorder in CP, the only one that could apply to the evidence about Claudius is Hemiplegia where spasticity is prevalent on one side of the body,⁷⁹ although there are factors in athetoid cerebral palsy which mean it warrants consideration; these will be discussed later in the section.

Congenital Cerebral Palsy has a prevalence of 1.5-2 per 1,000 births.⁸⁰ Although CP is not normally diagnosed until the child is about 2 years old, it can be apparent initially between 3-6 months old, where a hand may appear affected by showing restricted movements; the lower limb may appear to be fine.⁸¹ At the end of the first year, the walking stage becomes 2-3 months behind the norm, and it is by the time the child is 2-3 years that the affected hand becomes more obvious alongside slower growth or development in the affected limb, whilst the loss of skilled movements or

9DAFD632076299BD§ion=2, 1/09/03; CP may be the result of an infection in the mother, and it is her immune response that affects the foetus it is not the infection itself; an example is Meningitis. Also see L.A.Koman, B Paterson Smith, J.S.Shilt, 'Cerebral Palsy', *The Lancet*, 363 (2004) 1619-31.

⁷⁴ Hall & Hill (1995) p237; even 'spastic' refers to one type of CP where increased muscle tone, weakness and quick reflexes are present. In contrast many CP children have variable muscle tone. CP does not mean brain-damaged at birth in all cases, and CP refers to the motor deficit even though learning difficulties may be present, Hall & Hill p.237.

⁷⁵ V. Lewis, *Development and Handicap*, 1987 p.17.

⁷⁶ The National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke (NINDS) http://www.ninds.nih.gov/health_and_medical/disorders/cerebral_palsy.htm, 1/09/03.

⁷⁷ National Center in Birth Defects and Developmental Disabilities (NCBDDD) <http://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/dd/ddcp.htm> 22/07/05.

⁷⁸ NINDS http://www.ninds.nih.gov/health_and_medical/disorders/cerebral_palsy.htm 1/09/03.

⁷⁹ Diplegia is where all four limbs are affected with the legs more than the arms, and it is symmetric or asymmetric; Quadriplegia is the legs, arms and trunk equally affected; Paraplegia is where only the legs are affected; it is possible to encounter Double Hemiplegia which is similar to Quadriplegia but the head and trunk are less affected, Hall & Hill, Table 14.1 p.238.

⁸⁰ C.Thorogood, *Cerebral Palsy*, www.emedicine.com/pmr/topic24.htm, 22/07/05, gives figures at July 2005; a National Health Interview Survey produced figures for the USA in 1988 of 23 per 10,000 children under 17yrs old had CP, NCBDDD <http://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/dd/ddcp.htm> 22/07/05.; 2.5 cases per 1,000 of the population, in J. Rendle-Short, O.P. Gray, J.A. Dodge, *A synopsis of Children's Diseases*, Wright, Bristol 1985; Lewis (1987) p.19 has 15-25 per 10,000 births have CP.

⁸¹ Hall & Hill p.240-1; http://www.marchofdimes.com/professionals/681_1208.asp, 22/07/05.

hyperextension of the wrist and fingers is now present as a result of different lesions.⁸² The diagnosis tests for an early choice of hand preference, and/or the late development of muscle tone, as flaccid muscles can prevent reaching development milestones such as sitting.⁸³ Excluding diseases that have similar early signs or symptoms such as acute poliomyelitis, muscular dystrophy or Charcot-Marie-Tooth Disease for example is an important stage in confirming the diagnosis of CP.⁸⁴

The causes of Cerebral Palsy are:⁸⁵

1. **Infections during pregnancy**, in the mother, including rubella and infections involving the placenta may contribute to cerebral palsy in full-term as well as preterm (<37 weeks) babies. Includes sexually transmitted infectious diseases, e.g. AIDS, herpes, syphilis, gonorrhoea.
2. **Premature birth, caesarian or breech delivery, multiple births** (e.g. twins, triplets)
3. **Insufficient oxygen reaching the foetus**
4. **Asphyxia during labour and delivery**, previously thought that oxygen starvation during a difficult delivery was the major cause of CP., but new report showed that <10 % of the type of brain injuries that can lead to CP are due to asphyxia.
5. **Blood Diseases**, Rh or A-B-O blood type incompatibility between mother and foetus can cause jaundice and brain damage, and can result in CP.
6. **Severe jaundice**, causes yellowing of the skin and the whites of the eyes. Without treatment, severe jaundice can pose a risk of permanent brain damage resulting in athetoid cerebral palsy.
7. **Other birth defects**, a higher risk of CP for infants with brain malformations, physical birth defects, chromosome abnormalities and biochemical genetic disorders.
8. **Acquired cerebral palsy**, c10 % of children with CP acquire it after birth, caused by brain damage from serious infections and injuries that occur during the first two years. A 1991 study showed after the first month the most common causes were meningitis, child abuse, stroke, and car crashes.⁸⁶

There is no single event during the birth of Claudius that accords with the causes outlined above - although a lack of evidence does not mean they could not have happened. The orthodox claim is for a premature birth, but there is no evidence for that either as discussed in chapter 1.

⁸² Hall & Hill p.240-1.

⁸³ Note that the diagnosis of cerebral palsy is not instant and requires a monitoring in the delay of motor skills such as reaching for an object 3-4 months, sitting upright 6-7 months, and walking 10-14 months, Alfred I. Dupont Institute, Cerebral Palsy Program, http://gait.aidi.udel.edu/res695/homepage/pd_ortho/clinics/c_palsy/cpweb.htm, 22/07/05.

⁸⁴ See http://gait.aidi.udel.edu/res695/homepage/pd_ortho/clinics/c_palsy/cpweb.htm, 22/07/05 for discussion of spinal cord dysfunction, or children with temporary motor dysfunction that looks like CP caused by injuries or seizures; also Thorogood (2005) for list of differential diagnoses.

⁸⁵ List of causes of CP from http://www.marchofdimes.com/professionals/681_1208.asp, 22/07/05, and Ontario Federation for Cerebral Palsy, www.ofcp.on.ca/aboutcp.html, 22/07/05; Lewis (1987) p.19.

⁸⁶ NCBDDD <http://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/dd/ddcp.htm> 22/07/05.

The symptoms that might be evident in a child with CP are those connected to a brain injury and the subsequent dysfunctional muscle control such as difficulties controlling the muscles used for speech, or eating and swallowing (dysphagia), and the control deficiency can lead to a rigid posture or seizures.

The affected limbs dictate the classification of the type of Cerebral Palsy:⁸⁷

Quadriplegia: involves four limbs

Diplegia: all four limbs are affected, but more severely in both legs

Hemiplegia: only one side of the body is affected, and normally the arm more than the leg

Monoplegia: usually only one arm

These classifications can be modified by the type of muscle movement:⁸⁸ Spastic CP affects 70-80% of CP patients, and is caused by damage to the cerebral cortex, and this normally results in diplegia such as Little's disease which has increased muscle tone leading to stiff muscles and awkward movements and affects limbs and/or the trunk. Normal muscles work in pairs and free and accurate movement occurs when one group contracts and the opposite group of muscles relaxes. Spastic muscles are overactive and clumsy when used because they act together in a co-contraction, therefore pulling against each other and preventing efficient movement.⁸⁹ There are also opposing reactions to movement, where moving the *unaffected* limb results in postural changes in the corresponding (affected) limb, which does not readily apply to Claudius

About 10-20 % of CP patients have athetoid CP. Damage to the basal ganglia means the movement disorder is not restricted to limbs, but it affects the whole body including the trunk. It is characterized by a problem controlling muscle movement and muscle tone

⁸⁷ See S.H. Green, *Neurophysiology*, 1979 p.477 table 13.1.

⁸⁸ http://www.marchofdimes.com/professionals/681_1208.asp ;NCBDDD <http://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/dd/ddcp.htm> 22/07/05; Green (1979) p.477 table 13.2.

⁸⁹ www.ofcp.on.ca/aboutcp.html, 22/07/05, 'Spasticity may be mild and affect only a few movements, or severe and affect the whole body. The amount of spasticity usually changes over time. Therapy, surgery, drugs and adaptive equipment may help to control spasticity. Damage to the brain's cerebral cortex is generally the cause of spastic cerebral palsy'.

which changes from stiff to loose in a slow and writhing (or the opposite rapid and jerky) movement. This can create problems for sitting and postural control, as well as difficulties controlling of facial muscles, so there can be speech problems such as dysarthria, alongside dysphagia. The distinctive feature is the involuntary and slow sinuous muscle movements caused by inconsistent muscle tone, which usually affect the hands and limbs.⁹⁰ There is no evidence of this type of muscle movement being apparent in Claudius, but the evidence for athetoid CP will be discussed in section 5.4.2.

5-10 % of individuals affected by CP, have the ataxic disorder: because of damage to the cerebellum, they have balance, depth perception and coordination problems, which results in an unsteady wide-based gait. Tasks that require accurate motion can be hard because of intention tremor, or weak voluntary movements, or because motion is made up from spastic or jerky muscle movement. The above signify the type of movement disorder, and how the muscles move, but the symptoms of cerebral palsy may include:⁹¹

1. Delays in development of motor skills
2. Weakness in one or more limbs
3. Standing and walking on tiptoe
4. Abnormal walking gait, with one foot or leg dragging
5. Excessive drooling or difficulties swallowing
6. Poor control over hand and arm movement
7. Hearing loss, common in athetoid CP
8. Visual impairment, squints or partial blindness
9. Speech problems caused by dysarthria, hearing problems, aphasia
10. Incontinence
11. Antisocial behaviour, poor attention span
12. Learning difficulties caused by low IQ (less than 50)
13. Convulsions, >30% of children with CP
14. Hip dislocation, mainly paraplegic and quadriplegic

⁹⁰ NCBDDD <http://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/dd/ddcp.htm> 22/07/05;

http://www.marchofdimes.com/professionals/681_1208.asp, 22/07/05.

⁹¹ MayoClinic <http://www.mayoclinic.com/invoke.cfm?objectid=D61A3F48-111D-4EB8-9DAFD632076299BD§ion=2>, 1/09/03. Rendle-Short, Gray & Dodge p.321-2. NCBDDD <http://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/dd/ddcp.htm>, 22/07/05.

Taking an overview of some of the types of CP and applying their symptoms to the 'data' on Claudius demonstrates the problem of attempting a retrospective diagnosis. In many cases countless 'ifs, buts, and maybes' are needed in order to make a judgment, yet for cerebral palsy the evidence is relatively straightforward to employ because it allows certain types to be discarded. Hemiplegia, a spastic cerebral palsy,⁹² results in permanently contracted and stiff muscles, which in Claudius' case would be a stiff right arm and right leg. Walking would be difficult at all times, where the affected side might show unstable muscle changes and athetoid movement – as one approaches an object the extension or fanning of fingers and wrist extension are prevalent.⁹³ A third of Hemiplegic children can have an IQ lower than average (by 15-20 points), and a third can have moderate impairment, while the remaining third are intellectually normal.⁹⁴

Acquired Hemiplegia can be the result of a stroke, an accident or a head injury; convulsions may herald the onset of the hemiplegia, or, there may be sudden paralysis; the report in Suetonius that Claudius may have been beaten by his guardian provide a possibility for the cause of a manifest movement disorder.⁹⁵

Athetoid Cerebral Palsy has symptoms of uncontrolled muscle movement that are in addition to normal voluntary body or limb movements; the writhing motion, the

⁹² MayoClinic <http://www.mayoclinic.com/invoke.cfm?objectid=D61A3F48-111D-4EB8-9DAFD632076299BD§ion=2, 1/09/03>. For the causes and aetiology of CP see NINDS; Hall & Hill p.242-5. For orthopaedic aspects of hemiplegia see Hall & Hill p.262-66 and table 14.11 for causes of deformity in children with CP. NINDS lists those involved with treatment of children with CP to improve their capabilities; normally the team would consist of a paediatrician, orthopaedics surgeon, physical therapist, occupational therapist, speech and language pathologist, social worker, psychologist and a special needs teacher. None of these would be available to Claudius, nor would any of the surgical procedures, drugs or mechanical aids outlined by NINDS, or Hall & Hill For example identifying the affected muscles from the thirty that are used to walk, and 'severing the overactivated nerves controlling leg muscles, or chronic cerebellar stimulation where electrodes are implanted on the surface of the cerebellum to stimulate the nerves that control movement', NINDS http://www.ninds.nih.gov/health_and_medical/disorders/cerebral_palsy.htm, 1/09/03.

⁹³ Hall & Hill p.238, 242; Athetosis is the slow writhing movements of limbs that can also be seen as smaller movements at rest.

⁹⁴ NINDS CP; Hall & Hill p.242; for assessment of cognitive abilities see L. Cogher, E.Savage, M.Smith, *Cerebral Palsy*, 1992 p.176-85.

⁹⁵ Suet.*Claud.*II.2. 'Cerebral palsy results from an abnormality in or injury to areas of the brain that control motor function. Although cerebral palsy affects movement, the underlying problem originates in the brain, not in the muscles themselves'. <http://www.mayoclinic.com/invoke.cfm?objectid=D61A3F48-111D-4EB8-9DAFD632076299BD§ion=2, 1/09/03>; Rosenbaum p.970.

For cerebral trauma see W. Blackwood, T.C.Dodds, J.C.Somerville, *Atlas of Neuropathy*, Edinburgh: E & S Livingstone, 1964 p.136-141, figs. 188-192, for discussion, photographs and diagrams relating to head injuries.

unsteady progress walking and the head drawn back are symptoms that would be hard to apply to Claudius, but drooling, hearing problems and facial grimacing may be applicable. There is the possibility that the athetoid nature is restricted to the limbs,⁹⁶ and it may manifest in a hemiplegic form that would fit the literary sources for Claudius. There is no mention of a writhing or sinuous motion of Claudius' leg or arm in the sources. If present, the drooling and grimaces would be apparent throughout his life, and if it was a mild form of CP then it may not have warranted any mention by the sources. The important factor is that there is no chance of remission with such a disorder, so whatever type of CP the child is affected by, will affect the adult throughout his life, and the sources do not support the idea of a constant disorder.

Those specific symptoms of CP that on first glance may be relevant to Claudius are found wanting on closer inspection. Almost half of all children with CP have seizures or epilepsy. Partial seizures in simple form can have localised symptoms of muscle twitches or chewing motions, and in the complex form comprise hallucinations, staggering, automatic movements, confusion or loss of consciousness as a result.⁹⁷ Only the simple form could apply to Claudius if the reported tremors could be interpreted as partial seizures; the severe consequences of tonic-clonic seizures (unconsciousness and convulsive body motion) would more than likely have been reported in the sources, as part of his degrading symptoms, if they had occurred.⁹⁸

Impaired sight and hearing can be found in children with CP, and some scholars have identified apparent deafness in Claudius,⁹⁹ although this is unsubstantiated in the

⁹⁶ Lewis (1987) p.18.

⁹⁷ NINDS CP webpage.

⁹⁸ Suet.*Claud.*XXXIV.2, and Rolfe note d; Pliny *NH.*28.34, comment on the knives made from the swords of gladiators as a specific remedy for epilepsy; this section gives Suetonius the opportunity to assign epilepsy to Claudius but he does not do so which leads to the conclusion that he did not suffer from seizures. Suet.*Nero.*XXXIII.3 claims Britannicus was epileptic, *Et cum ille ad primum gustum concidisset, comitali motbo ex consuetudine correptum apud convivas ementitus postero die raptim inter maximos imbres tralaticio extulit funere.*

⁹⁹ Hurley (2001) p.200; Eden (1984) p.129 discusses sleepiness implying deafness for *Apoc.*12.1; Dio 60.30.3. Suetonius makes no specific comment. There is an alternative diagnosis in Dystonia-Deafness Syndrome, which has characteristics of dysarthria, hyperactivity, deterioration of handwriting, self-mutilation and deafness, plus possible mental impairment, *Jablonski's Multiple Congenital Anomaly/Mental Retardation (MCA/MR) Syndromes Database*, http://www.nlm.nih.gov/mesh/jablonski/syndrome_db.html 1/09/03. This does not seem applicable to Claudius.

sources,¹⁰⁰ as there are no additional reports of what would be an easy target for ridicule. The misalignment of the eyes (strabismus) found in CP can lead to problems with depth perception and distance sight, but there is no evidence of either in the sources relating to Claudius.

If a child with CP has difficulty controlling throat, tongue and mouth muscles, then drooling is the result; poor seating posture or problems with hand control can produce a similar outcome and the result of poor muscle control in the mouth and throat can cause dysphagia in the form of choking, regurgitation or vomiting.¹⁰¹ The statement ‘the difficulty swallowing, poor hand control and weakness of the jaw and facial muscles contribute to this intractable problem, which is distressing both for the child and their parents’,¹⁰² could have been written about Claudius, whom the sources portray as experiencing muscle control problems that caused a shaking head, drooling and speech problems, but the remedy of either using mechanical devices to support the chin, or drugs, are only semi-successful now in treating a seemingly intractable problem. Therefore Claudius would have suffered with this for years before becoming *princeps*, which does not seem to be the case. None of the sources claim he had difficulty eating - if anything the opposite - and as for regurgitation, Claudius had to be forced into vomiting which was not a reaction to the gastro-esophageal reflux present in CP. This would point then to a mild form of CP, and if that is so, then it is less likely that drooling or dysphagia would be present.

¹⁰⁰ The problem of Claudius having difficulty hearing the Bithynians amongst the noise points to problems caused by Delayed Audio Feedback (DAF), and the difficulties stutterers have of differentiating between sounds, and not due to deafness or being hard of hearing, see L. Jäncke, J. Hänggi and H. Steinmetz, ‘Morphological brain differences between adult stutterers and non-stutterers’, *BMC Neurology* 4:23 (2004) 1471-2377, <http://www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2377/4/23> 29/01/05, cite R. Salmelin, A. Schnitzler, F. Schmitz, L. Jäncke, O.W. Witte, H.J. Freund, ‘Functional organization of the auditory cortex is different in stutterers and fluent speakers’, *Neuroreport* 9 (1998) 2225-2229 for research on abnormalities in the auditory system. For the most recent work (2005) on DAF and stuttering see J. Kalinowski Stuttering Research Group (Department of Communication Sciences & Disorders East Carolina), <http://www.ecu.edu/csd/refs.html>, 29/01/05.

¹⁰¹ Hall & Hill p.271, see table 14.14; NINDS – CP.

¹⁰² Hall & Hill p.273-74.

Many CP children have difficulty sitting with a straight back, and there are attempts to fix this from an early age because postural deformity becomes fixed if it is not corrected;¹⁰³ either Claudius had postural correction as a child to give the dignified posture in Suetonius, which is very unlikely, or he did not have a severe form of CP.

This section has demonstrated it is not straightforward to make a case for each symptom of CP individually in the case of Claudius. As discussed earlier he may have had problems (concerning posture or drooling and dysphagia) but there is no evidence they were throughout his life, or even intermittent. The uncertain nature of symptoms, and the lack of consistency in the sources, means that any diagnosis cannot take the evidence at face value. If one follows this path then by a cumulative process something will not fit. It is not a case of error compounding error, more that a mistake of a few degrees at the beginning, or on any leg of a journey can make a big difference by the end, and the destination reached may not be the one aimed for. In this case it is the cumulative nature that has a bearing, not the magnitude of the miscalculation. For these reasons the survey of feasible diseases requires one to cast a net as widely as possible to identify and eliminate as many disorders or ailments as possible, and under the umbrella of CP, athetoid CP and congenital Hemiplegia are considered, followed by dystonia, Tourette's, tremor, cerebellar dysarthria and OPCA.

5.2b The default choice: a Disease with no let up

This section offers a brief discussion of Congenital Hemiplegia (CH), one of the disorders that fits under the canopy of Cerebral Palsy, and fits the basic outline of the movement disorder with one leg and possibly an arm impaired. It may assist the hypothesis that Claudius' disease did not endure in a single form, because CH is one of the illnesses that persists once it has started.

¹⁰³ Coghler, Savage, & Smith (1992) p.152, see ch.10 and see table 10.2, for assessment of sitting ability and remedies.

The early signs of weakness and hypotonia in CH are present between 3-12 months old, and are rarely seen before that; the peak age for early diagnosis being around 36 months when reaching for, and grasping of objects occurs.¹⁰⁴ The severity of motor impairment in CH varies in the limbs,¹⁰⁵ and Claudius would be in the smallest category since a gait disorder is only present in 10% of CH children.¹⁰⁶ The 'arm dominated' hemiplegia is most common in children born at term, whilst leg impairment is more often found in those born preterm; Claudius would be in the latter category because of the evidence for his atrophied leg, but as discussed in the first chapter there is no indication that Claudius' birth was untoward, difficult or early.¹⁰⁷

In conjunction with mechanical restrictions of arm movement, a flexed wrist (drop-hand) is a major difficulty – the sensory functions are impaired in half of CH children, and a third of children report that their hand is completely useless;¹⁰⁸ the difficulty manifests as motor co-ordination problems plus the loss of power and speed of movement. It is the loss of control of motor activity, which is obvious, and for Claudius this would present problems with any function that required the use of that hand: it would affect writing for example.

The loss of fine motor skills, a description of wrist drop, a weak grasp, spasticity in the fingers, and athetoid posturing are some of the components that could have been included in a description of Claudius – their omission does not mean they were absent, (they would have been apparent) and although Claudius' awkward gesture produced by using the left hand from beneath the toga may fit into this category, perhaps it solely belongs to Roman etiquette and has nothing to do with a motor disease.

¹⁰⁴ P. Uvebant, 'Clinical Presentation and Neurology', 2000 p.53-4.

¹⁰⁵ From severe in 20% to mild in 33% of children with CH, and this manifests as mainly in the arm and hand for 50%, and lower limb for 33%; upper and lower limb impairment is found in 20%.

¹⁰⁶ Uvebant (2000) table 5.3 p.56.

¹⁰⁷ Uvebant (2000) table 5.1 p.54 for distribution of CH by gestational age groups, where 75% are over 36 weeks.

¹⁰⁸ Uvebant (2000) p.55; for components of CH in the upper limb see J.K. Brown, E.G. Walsh, 'Neurology of the Upper Limb', 2000 p.113-49, especially p.125-6 for a list of 38 components that can form a Hemiplegic 'constellation'.

CH children can have one of 18 different gait patterns;¹⁰⁹ relevant deviations for Claudius may be seen in Seneca's description of dragging the right leg, which could be part of a typical Sagittal Plane Deviation,¹¹⁰ and Suetonius describes Claudius' knees giving way when he walked, which could be a voluntary compensation 'to modify the gait patterns and minimise the effects of primary deviations',¹¹¹ which is characteristic of 'excessive knee flexion at initial contact and stance', where a greater than normal knee flexion shortens the good leg to stabilise the centre of gravity.¹¹² There is no sign that one leg was longer than the other, as the affected limb would be shorter by an average of 1-2 cm for CH patients,¹¹³ which may not be enough to be noticed by an observer, except that one knee will permanently be flexed to maintain posture. This could be reflected on the Praetorian coins of Claudius, where the right leg is flexed. In the scenario under discussion, the right leg would be maintaining posture – the good leg is flexed to achieve this – but the image on the *cistophoroi* clearly shows the atrophy is in Claudius' right leg, and Seneca clearly states that Claudius dragged his right leg. If the right leg was affected as a result of CH then it would be the left leg that was bent to compensate for the shorter leg, the opposite to the image of Claudius on the 'Praetorian coins'.

The source descriptions result in two different gait patterns which does not necessarily mean they are inaccurate as discussed earlier. Only 10% of CH children show severe lameness, and 'although the lower limb is the more affected among children born preterm, the severity of the impairment of walking is conversely correlated to gestational age. A severe impairment is twice as common among children born at term compared with preterm born children with CH'.¹¹⁴ This statement leaves the question of Claudius' disorder unanswered by the sources. It is therefore more probable that if he was born at term he would be as impaired as the sources suggest, but then postural deformity is not raised by the sources, nor is any excessive torsion of the tibia (lower leg); these purely

¹⁰⁹ S. Öunpuu, P.A. DeLuca, R.B. Davis, 'Gait Analysis', 2000 p.81-112.

¹¹⁰ The characteristics are 'foot drag at the toe-off and initial swing due to clearance problems, and foot drop in mid to terminal swing' Öunpuu, DeLuca & Davis p.83, fig. 7.1; it is the position of the ankle that is analysed, something that is not possible from the sources available.

¹¹¹ Öunpuu, DeLuca & Davis (2000) p.92.

¹¹² Öunpuu, DeLuca & Davis (2000) p.93.

¹¹³ For the lack of bone growth see Uvebant (2000) p.58; D. Scrutton, 'Physical Assessment and Aims of Treatment', 2000 p.70-1 where leg can be wasted and shorter by up to 4-5cm.

¹¹⁴ Uvebant (2000) p.57.

external physical factors plus the flexion of the "good" leg suggests that CH was not the disease that affected Claudius.¹¹⁵

5.3 Tremor

This section offers a new approach to one factor that has previously not been considered in isolation, only as part of a cluster of symptoms. It is useful to examine how a tremor can affect the patient and will concentrate mainly on Essential Tremor, and how Claudius' reported head tremor and the hand tremor can be explained as not necessarily part of the same condition. A case study of Samuel Adams' tremor provides a suitable basis for comparison with Claudius. Tremor may also be a normal factor that is only visible in times of fear or excitement and it may be transient. This Enhanced Physiological Tremor (EPT) is also a normal phenomenon and does not signal a pathological fault: 'physiological tremor may be enhanced and symptomatic in normal individuals'.¹¹⁶ The factors that cause EPT¹¹⁷ relevant to the study of Claudius are alcohol, emotional stress and anxiety states, albeit used with the caution that has been outlined for using emotional reports in the sources. The section on tremor will discuss two features used as evidence for Claudius' disability: a head tremor, and a hand tremor.

Suetonius refers to Claudius' constant fear and state of permanent anxiety, but it is impossible to state that Suetonius knew or considered that any tremors could be natural, and certainly not EPT.¹¹⁸ Suetonius writes that Claudius' head shook at all times but

¹¹⁵ The complexity of the physical assessment required for a diagnosis of CH cannot be carried out to gain a definitive answer on gait or posture, or if it may have been a spastic or dystonic hemiplegic gait, see Scrutton p.66-73.

¹¹⁶ L.J.Findley, L.Cleeves, 'Classification of Tremor', 1989 p.506; EPT has a normal frequency of 8-12Hz but a greater amplitude, and is present maintaining posture and is present during movement, p.506 and is caused by increased pharmacological activity altering the response of neural receptors by increasing the speed of muscle contractions which results in an increased burst size of impulses that see small ripples of contractions of the muscles in the arm, p.506-7.

¹¹⁷ Findley & Cleeves (1989) table 36.1 p.507 lists causal factors of EPT as alcohol, alcohol or drug withdrawal, thyrotoxicosis (excess thyroid hormones), emotional stress, anxiety states, pheochromocytoma (tumour causing unregulated secretions from the adrenal gland), and catecholamine (neurotransmitter) infusion, taking methylxanthine used for asthma.

¹¹⁸ It is possible that any report of shaking that Suetonius read could have been converted into a physiognomic appraisal.

especially when he made the least effort,¹¹⁹ which in terms of a tremor would be a combination of postural and kinetic tremors.¹²⁰ For Claudius there is no way one can apply a measurement or qualification to the reported tremor (in Suetonius and Dio) using a rating scale created for Essential Tremor (ET) of Parkinson's Disease; all that can be deduced is that his hand may have shaken, his head or neck may have shaken, but whether they were connected to the same pathological dysfunction is unknown.¹²¹ ET usually affects the head, neck, voice and upper limbs, which could apply to Claudius, whilst new research suggests that ET in the legs has been underestimated;¹²² tremor in the trunk can be found in patients with a history of the condition, and in some cases tremor of the chin, lips and tongue.¹²³ Claudius is alleged to have a shaking head of some description by Seneca, Juvenal, Suetonius and Dio, but only the latter states that his hands also shook; Seneca and Suetonius are less specific whilst Josephus and Tacitus do not mention either. If nearly 94-100% of ET sufferers have head tremors, and in most cases the hands are affected as well, then I will explore the likelihood of Claudius being affected by ET is reduced; ET is a postural tremor which is exaggerated by voluntary movement, and this accentuated tremor can be extreme enough in the hands to produce difficulty in handwriting or drinking; the tremor usually disappears at rest, although in severe cases a resting tremor can be present.¹²⁴ Suetonius states that Claudius is at his most dignified whilst lying down, rather than standing or sitting, and if a head tremor was an ET then it would not be apparent in all positions at rest – a difference is only

¹¹⁹ Suet.*Claud.*XXX, see trans. Rolfe.

¹²⁰ Rest tremor is when a person is not using the muscle groups that are oscillating, and it is commonly associated with Parkinson's, although there are lesions that can produce a similar Rest tremor that persists *unaltered* through movement and postural movement, Findley & Cleeves p.508 and Table 36.2 for classification of common tremors. A Rest Tremor will disappear with the intention to move and during movement, which bears no relation to Claudius' symptoms. Postural tremor is found in the muscles used to retain a seated or standing posture, and a Kinetic tremor can only be apparent at only one of the three stages of movement; but 'initial, transition and terminal tremor often occur together and may share a common mechanism', Findley & Cleeves p.509. Kinetic Tremor is usually caused by EPT or Essential Tremor which is connected to posture, but can be found during movement and the tremor can be worse at the end of a 'goal-directed movement', Findley & Cleeves p.509. If the tremor is very severe it may still be apparent as a resting tremor with the limb *resting on* an object, Findley & Cleeves p.509; 'intention tremor' is used as term regarding a tremor of large amplitude and low frequency, seen at the end of a goal-directed movement, which are of such a coarse action that in some cases the motion can be regarded as ataxia or dysmetria (while a combination of tremor *and* dysmetria would be classified as ataxia), Findley & Cleeves p.509-10.

¹²¹ For the physiology of EPT and Normal Tremor, such as performing at the limits of dexterity as in microsurgery, see R. J. Elble and W. C. Koller, *Tremor*, 1990 p.37-53; also see P. Bain, M. Brin, G. Deuschl, R. Elble, J. Jankovic, L. Findley, W.C. Koller, R. Pahwa, 2000; Galen made the first distinction between tremor at rest and tremor during voluntary movement, D.Sider, M.McVaugh, 'Galen on tremor palpitation, spasm and rigor', 1979 p183-210, Eble & Koller (1990) p.2.

¹²² Elble & Koller (1990) p.54, see table 4.2.

¹²³ N.Biary, W. Koller, 'Essential tongue tremor', 1987 p.25-9, cited in Elble & Koller (1990) p.55.

¹²⁴ W. Koller, F.A. Rubino, 'Combined resting-postural tremors', 1985 p.683-4, cited in Elble & Koller (1990) p.55.

implied because the symptom or difference is not explicitly stated which may betray Suetonius' lack of first-hand knowledge. In 50% of cases there is a family history of dominantly inherited ET, and as there is no evidence of such, Claudius could have sporadic ET, or a late-onset senile tremor.¹²⁵

The likelihood of voice tremor is limited by 'the rhythmic alteration in the pitch and volume of vowel sounds' produced by the rhythmic contractions of the larynx and muscles of respiration.¹²⁶ A voice tremor may be sufficient to prohibit public speaking, and as ET is a progressive syndrome,¹²⁷ with Claudius speaking in public until his death, then it becomes less probable that it was present.

There is considerable difficulty in combining a diagnosis of ET with other neurologic conditions, as evidence is only anecdotal and it is hard to distinguish between any two conditions as Elble & Koller demonstrate.¹²⁸ A factor for excluding ET as a possible syndrome relating to Claudius is that tremor is reduced with alcohol and is one of the factors for diagnosis of ET; considering that Claudius ate and drank on a regular basis, regardless of the vomiting, there would be a significant enough difference between any tremor present before and after alcohol consumption, to be commented upon.¹²⁹ One is left with the problem of interpreting the descriptions of Seneca, Suetonius and Dio; either Claudius' 'tremor' was from another neurological origin than ET, a Parkinson's or dystonic disorder, or it belongs to another pathological area entirely.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ T.A. Larsen, D.B.Cahne, 'Essential tremor', 1983 p.185-206. cited in Elble & Koller (1990) p.54.

¹²⁶ This is unlike spastic dysphonia (dysarthria) where the muscles of phonation contract to produce strained and strangled voice, Elble & Koller (1990) p.56.

¹²⁷ Elble & Koller (1990) p.57.

¹²⁸ Differences outlined between ET and Parkinson's, ET and Dystonia, Elble & Koller (1990) p.57-60; for differential diagnosis see p.60; also see Larsen & Calne for review of reported associated conditions.

¹²⁹ 'Ethanol produces dramatic improvement in most patients with essential tremor and is generally believed to be the most potent pharmacologic suppressant of essential tremor', Elble & Koller (1990) p.90; it should be noted however that 'there is new evidence of alcohol abuse in 67% of patients with ET' Elble & Koller (1990) p.90, but this study is given context by a later study that showed 'the prevalence of alcoholism was not increased in patients with ET, as compares to patients with other neurological illnesses', Elble & Koller (1990) p.90.

¹³⁰ The conflation of sources has been discussed earlier, but the degenerating descriptive progression hampers diagnosis, and the movement in Seneca is very different to that in Suetonius or Dio; Seneca's link between speech and head movement is retained, albeit refashioned, by Suetonius, and it is Dio that says the tremors cause the voice problem which is a separate link entirely.

Head tremor is characteristically horizontal (as in ‘no-no-no’), although a vertical motion (‘yes-yes-yes’ movement) is also found,¹³¹ and either manifestation would produce an easy target for ridicule. It is difficult to avoid the argument from silence, mainly because the sources have lined up such an array of factors to pillory Claudius and it is hard to imagine them passing on any gilt-edged opportunities - in any report of a public event no source mentions Claudius’ head tremor. No source specifically describes the type of tremor, making comments of the type *Claudius was constantly gesturing because of his head was always shaking*. Seneca states that Claudius seemed to be making a threat because he was moving his head, *assidue enim caput movere*, but this may have been connected to a stutter,¹³² especially if the translation means ‘excited’. If Claudius’ attempts at speech were causing a (stuttering) block then in terms of motion, and as part of that process his head could well have been ‘excitable’ or ‘excited’. None of this denies the head tremor, but it allows the question to be raised as to when exactly it was apparent. The use of *assiduus* (continually or constantly) is nothing if not ambiguous, and it sets up a problem of chicken-and-egg proportions. Was it the threatening gesture that required a moving head, or was it the motion of the head that looked like a threatening gesture? The latter makes any motion a constant factor, but the former is dictated by the need to make the gesture so the motion is not constant.

Seneca describes Claudius having arrived to see Jupiter, making a threat because he was continually moving his head, *assidue enim caput movere; pedum dextrum trahere*. The inclusion of the reference to the right leg is probably there to let the audience know that the figure is Claudius. He approached in order to gain entry, and to do so he would need to speak, and he would know he would need to speak which would only increase the fear and apprehension of having to speak; the fact that the messenger spoke first is inconclusive: either he did or had to because Claudius would not be able to speak or initiate the conversation. Eden translates Claudius in *Apoc.5.2* as making a ‘confused sound in an unintelligible voice’ and either the messenger asked Claudius what he wanted and he answered, or Claudius attempted to answer but failed; if the latter is right and symptomatic enough of Claudius to be recognised by the audience then the head movement may form part of the behaviour consistent with a paroxysm/block which can be portrayed as being unsettling to the viewer/messenger.

¹³¹ Elble & Koller (1990) p.56.

¹³² *Sen. Apoc.5.2*.

Head tremor may be an enhanced physiologic tremor due to muscle fatigue through weakness and overuse. A case history is presented in Samuel Adams who may have had ET.¹³³ The tremor was present in his head and hands in 1766 by the age of 42,¹³⁴ and was worse under stress,¹³⁵ but the interest lies in how others saw him ‘Sparhawk mentioned the intrepidity of Samuel Adams, a man, he says, of great sensibility, of tender nerves’,¹³⁶ and John Adams wrote of ‘nerves that are delicate....and their constitutions tender’.¹³⁷ By 1784 Adams had difficulty writing, and by 1787 he writes of himself, ‘But I must desist – My weak hands prevents my proceeding further at present’(sic).¹³⁸ Reduced to only dictating letters by 1793, and retired from public life in 1797, he was seen as a ‘grief and distress to his family, a weeping helpless object of compassion for years’ by John Adams.¹³⁹ Although Louis concludes that Samuel Adams seems to have had ‘an action tremor that affected his hands, voice and head’,¹⁴⁰ the written evidence especially from Adams himself concentrates on the hands; Louis also highlights that no comment is made on the effect of alcohol which one would expect as Adams was a brewer.¹⁴¹ As a case study it demonstrates a very different attitude to Adams than that shown to Claudius; comparing different eras is virtually impossible but one factor may help in understanding the evidence on Claudius: ‘one of Adams’ descendants noted that the tremor was not restricted to his hands but also affected his head and voice’,¹⁴² and this is not a primary source. Suetonius reports a head tremor which reacts like an essential tremor, but does not report any hand tremor; this does not correlate with the common groupings of muscles involved in tremor.¹⁴³ Tremor usually appears in the hand and forearm first before spreading to the opposite limb over time, then it will progress to the head or neck or jaw muscles.¹⁴⁴ Therefore Seneca and

¹³³ Samuel Adams was second cousin to John Adams, 2nd President of United States, and a member of the Continental Congress, and one of the 56 signatories to the Declaration of Independence; E.D.Louis, ‘Samuel Adams’ Tremor’, *Neurology* 56 (2001) 1201-1205.

¹³⁴ Louis (2001) p.1201.

¹³⁵ Louis (2001) p.1202.

¹³⁶ Louis (2001) p.1202.

¹³⁷ Louis (2001) p.1202, although from a different era it provokes the question whether Suetonius was influenced by physiognomics regarding his assertion about Claudius’ anxiety.

¹³⁸ Louis (2001) p.1203.

¹³⁹ Louis (2001) p.1204.

¹⁴⁰ Louis (2001) p.1204.

¹⁴¹ Louis (2001) p.1205.

¹⁴² Louis (2001) p.1202 and note 13.

¹⁴³ M. Critchley, ‘Observations on Essential (Heredofamilial) Tremor’, 1949 p.116.

¹⁴⁴ Critchley (1949) p.116.

Suetonius have omitted the symptom that would have appeared first and been apparent for the longest if it had been ET.¹⁴⁵

Another possibility is the tremor that is present in some stutterers; research has been carried out into the tremors present during the paroxysm of stuttering,¹⁴⁶ and a study examined 28 patients who had signs of neurological disorder, and focused on subclinical tremor at rest in hand muscles.¹⁴⁷ The results showed bioelectrical activity clusters of 10Hz, and the hypothesis is that the tremor in the hand may be a physiological tremor of increased amplitude.¹⁴⁸ Even though this type of tremor is still largely unexplained, enough is known to say that it is an involuntary movement producing a tremor of 8-10Hz, and one explanation is that the increased amplitude is due to stress.¹⁴⁹ A relationship between the expression of stuttering and the patient's emotional state is proposed as stuttering is a direct expression of the 'speech stress',¹⁵⁰ and research shows that adrenaline increases the amplitude of physiological tremor.¹⁵¹ Studies have shown during the act of speaking, stutterers' secretion of the hormone adrenaline is increased by nearly 300%,¹⁵² and after speaking for 30-60 minutes the increases are around 400% for adrenaline, 300% for the hormone noradrenaline and 200% for the neurotransmitter dopamine; 'this increase was significantly higher than that which was observed in medical students after the five hour State examination in the field of internal medicine'.¹⁵³ The results of the tests showed that the tremor was not due to rising amplitude of physiological tremor, and those muscles at rest were not involved in speaking, 'so that cannot be the stress situation evoked by speech overload'.¹⁵⁴ Laštovka concludes that the tremor identified during the silent period, is a reflection tremor

¹⁴⁵ Recent research has demonstrated deficits in patients with ET in 'verbal fluency, naming, mental set-shifting, verbal memory, and working memory, as well as higher levels of depression', W.J.Lombardi, D.J.Woolston, J.W.Roberts, R.E.Gross, 'Cognitive deficits in patients with essential tremor', 2001 p.785-790. All of the factors could be applied to Claudius at least on an intermittent basis.

¹⁴⁶ M.Laštovka, 'Tremor in Stutterers', 1995 p.318-323; also see section 5.4.3 on research on Tourette's Syndrome and stuttering.

¹⁴⁷ Laštovka (1995) p.318-9.

¹⁴⁸ Laštovka (1995) p.322.

¹⁴⁹ Laštovka (1995) p.322 and notes 11-15.

¹⁵⁰ Laštovka (1995) p.322 and notes 22-27.

¹⁵¹ Laštovka (1995) p.322.

¹⁵² Laštovka (1995) p.322 and notes 20,28.

¹⁵³ Laštovka (1995) p.322 and note 29.

¹⁵⁴ Laštovka (1995) p.322, but this does not measure where the tension exists in stutterers; tension and rigidity in the shoulders could produce tremor in the hands when a stutterers is speaking or attempting to initiate speech.

because of neurological changes.¹⁵⁵ Although the tremor examined is slight, the connection between physiological tremor and stuttering cannot be excluded, and this would negate the possibility of the more serious neurological disorders discussed earlier.

Solutae manus in *Apoc.*6.2 has been translated as ‘trembling hand’ (Rolfe), a ‘shaking hand’ (Eden), and an uncontrollable hand,¹⁵⁶ which may or may not be related to a neurological disorder. This does not exclude the head movement being linked to stuttering because the orofacial muscles of the neck and face are used in speech production.¹⁵⁷ However, if *solutae manus* is translated as a loose or limp hand,¹⁵⁸ one which was firm enough for at least that particular gesture, then it would signify some form of muscle atrophy or Hypotonia (which involves a lack of neuronal connections to control the muscles); the lack of muscle tone would point to flaccidity in the limb, which is a symptom of Hemiplegia, Polio, and Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis (ALS). The movement described by Seneca does not suggest choreic,¹⁵⁹ dystonic,¹⁶⁰ Parkinsonism,¹⁶¹ ET, progressive supranuclear palsy¹⁶² or ataxic movement.¹⁶³

Seneca uses *firmae* to describe the capability of the *solutae manus*, and this would mean it was strong enough for the gesture,¹⁶⁴ which does mean the arm and hand were not totally useless either from weakness or shaking; Claudius had some form of control over his arm movement. This may also signify the right hand being affected along with the right leg as the symptoms of some neurological diseases are asymmetrical. The

¹⁵⁵ Laštovka (1995) p.322, the changes are in the ‘function structures that establish motor feedback, especially in the extrapyramidal and cerebellar field’. Tics and stuttering will only briefly be included in the later section on Tourette’s.

¹⁵⁶ Eden (1984) p.92 note on *Apoc.*6.2.

¹⁵⁷ The possibility of muscle tension or learned behaviour to free the block/paroxysm should not be discounted; also see D.H. McFarland, A. Smith, C.A. Moore, C.M. Weber, ‘Relationship between Amplitude of Tremor and Reflex responses of the Human Jaw-Closing System’, 1986 p.272-78 who investigate jaw tremor in stutterers.

¹⁵⁸ See Lewis & Short Latin Dictionary.

¹⁵⁹ Choreic movement is abrupt, purposeless, flowing with jerky limb movement.

¹⁶⁰ Dystonic movement is sustained muscle contractions resulting in twisting movement and dystonic tremors.

¹⁶¹ Clinical features are resting tremor, muscle rigidity and a flexed posture; bradykinesia a slow cogwheeling where muscle tone resists movement making progress segmental.

¹⁶² A feature is muscle rigidity.

¹⁶³ Inherited ataxic movements are clumsy with poor control and an intention tremor can be present; progression of illness leads to limb weakness with atrophy and flaccid muscles, see A.E. Harding, ‘Hereditary Ataxias and related disorders’, 1986 p.1229-1238; Walton (1985) p.362-370.

¹⁶⁴ Eden translates it as ‘strong enough for this single purpose’, *Apoc.*6.2.2.

conclusion can be drawn that the arm movement may have been abnormal because of muscle atrophy. The influence of the translation of Dio's description of Claudius' head and hands shaking on later translators should not be discounted - there is no reason that Seneca uses *solutae manus* to specifically refer to shaking. What is of interest though is that he used that hand at all – if it had been severely affected it would lack the motor and muscle control for consistent if poor movement; it is entirely feasible that the muscle weakness or atrophy was severe enough to be noticed, and Seneca's comment is about the irony of such a weak limb being able to give a gesture of such constitutional (governmental) power. In some respects Seneca has produced a formula that is picked up by the other sources, a physically and mentally weak man wielding enormous power as *princeps*. There is no strong connection that any tremor or muscle movement in Claudius' head and hands were connected, or had to be part of the same condition.

5.4 Degenerative Cerebellar Diseases

The description of Claudius' voice provided by Seneca and Juvenal as having a strained quality, like no land animal, means that cerebellar disease requires serious consideration because one of the symptoms is dysarthria. In addition if scholars are right and the sources portray symptoms evident from childhood, there may be a degenerative element to the illness, and cerebellar dysarthria and olivopontocerebellar atrophy are examples that require discussion. The concentration in this chapter on dysarthria reflects the importance placed on the quality of Claudius' speech by Seneca, Suetonius and Dio. Nevertheless, it is the degenerative element which will ultimately prevent them being a practical answer.

The factors below are those used by the Mayo Clinic in a dysarthria study to rank the deviation from 'normal' on each of the speech and voice dimensions relevant to their

assessment of the following: pseudobulbar palsy, Parkinson's disease, dystonia, chorea, ALS, bulbar palsy, cerebellar lesions.¹⁶⁵

1. Pitch Level
2. Pitch breaks
3. Monopitch
4. Voice tremor
5. Monoloudness
6. Excess loudness variation
7. Loudness decay
8. Alternating loudness
9. Loudness level (overall)
10. Harsh voice
11. Hoarse (wet) voice
12. Breathy voice (continuous)
13. Breathy voice (transient)
14. Strained-strangled voice
15. Voice stoppages
16. Hypernasality
17. Hyponasality
18. Nasal emission
19. Forced inspiration-expiration
20. Audible inspiration
21. Grunt at end of expiration
22. Rate
23. Short Phrases
24. Increase of rate in segments
25. Increase of rate overall
26. Reduced stress (vocal)
27. Variable rate
28. Prolonged intervals
29. Inappropriate silences
30. Short rushes of speech
31. Excess and equal stress
32. Imprecise consonants
33. Prolonged phonemes
34. Repeated phonemes
35. Irregular articulatory breakdown
36. Distorted vowels
37. Intelligibility (overall)
38. Bizarreness (overall)

¹⁶⁵ Darley, Aronson & Brown, *Motor Speech Disorders*, 1975 Appendix B p.294-5, and results of rank of deviation in Appendix C p.297.

These were ranked by the Mayo Clinic and allowed a table to be produced for each disorder that presented with dysarthria, and this allowed the researchers to map each of the disorders.

5.4a Cerebellar Dysarthria

There are a variety of reported dysarthrias,¹⁶⁶ made up of several types of dysarthric speech which can include ‘scanning, slurred speech, staccato, explosive, hesitant, slow, altered accent and garbled’.¹⁶⁷ It is the first type that is usually found with cerebellar disease,¹⁶⁸ where ‘patients with scanning speech produce syllables slowly and hesitate in delivery of phrases, but they do not stammer or stutter’;¹⁶⁹ where the problem lies is rhythm of speech and flow from one word to the next, plus the inaccurate emphasis placed on syllables with pauses in the wrong place.¹⁷⁰ The cerebellar dysarthria caused by diseases of the cerebellum is characterised by the following:¹⁷¹

- Imprecise consonants (a feature of all dysarthrias)
- Excess and equal stress; inappropriate allocation of emphasis and accent
- Irregular articulatory breakdown, elision of syllables or phonemes
- Distorted vowels
- Harshness
- Prolonged phonemes
- Prolonged intervals
- Monopitch
- Monoloudness
- Slow rate

¹⁶⁶ For an extensive information concerning Dysarthria and the neurological disorders with which it is associated, see American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA), <http://www.asha.org/public/speech/disorders/dysarthria.htm> 6/01/05, although poliomyelitis and PPS is omitted from the list of causes.

¹⁶⁷ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg, *Disorders of the cerebellum*, (1983) p.223, and see list above.

¹⁶⁸ For the symptoms of cerebellar disease see Appendix 5.2

¹⁶⁹ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.223.

¹⁷⁰ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.223 and n24.

¹⁷¹ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.224.

A problem with regulation of speech is termed dysprosody where for example, a result can be explosive or hesitant speech caused by a staccato rhythm joined to an irregular volume – ‘the grammar and meaning of the sentences are intact but the more melodic elements of speech are deranged’.¹⁷² The difficulties that arise for the listener are because ‘the intonation, accentuation and melodic elaboration of speech is disturbed’,¹⁷³ and scanning speech results in patients who stress ‘sounds inappropriately, drop some syllables, run word fragments, prolong individual sounds, and leave inappropriate intervals between syllables and words’;¹⁷⁴ the additional elements in cerebellar dysarthria are ‘tremulous speech, nasal speech and variable rate speech’.¹⁷⁵

These descriptions may bear some relevance to Juvenal or Seneca’s speech portrait, but the particular difficulty of identifying Claudius’ speech disorder or dysfluency is made worse by the obvious fact that it cannot be examined aurally – for a description we rely on a subjective ‘analysis’ which is further modified by the words used to describe it. In all cases excepting Seneca, the speech description is at least second-hand and open to even more modification and literary manipulation by those sources using the earlier reports.

It is the speech problem that leads to the requirement of examining cerebellar diseases, where dysarthria is a major and observable component. The degenerative diseases of the cerebellum have proved difficult to classify definitively because of the lack of knowledge about the mechanisms of the diseases; some researchers have used metabolic causes or charted biochemical changes which have been unsatisfactory, and others have attempted to define diseases by clinical, genetic or pathological factors.¹⁷⁶ All present difficulties because many patients can fall outside the categories, and an initial diagnosis which places the patient in one category can be deficient as the disease progresses and the characteristics that justified the original inclusion may disappear as other factors relevant to a different category appear.¹⁷⁷ In the light of this problem, Gilman, Bloedel

¹⁷² Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.223.

¹⁷³ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.223.

¹⁷⁴ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.224.

¹⁷⁵ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.224 and notes 6,11,22,23.

¹⁷⁶ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.231.

¹⁷⁷ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.231.

and Lechtenberg 'have had to abandon some previous classifications and use more current views of disease associations',¹⁷⁸ which although still imperfect is suitable for this particular exercise.

Symptoms of degenerative cerebellar diseases usually appear in adults with a family history of the disease;¹⁷⁹ in children up to 19 it usually presents as Friedreich's ataxia,¹⁸⁰ while for adults the onset is around 50 years of age.¹⁸¹ The degenerative disorders change over many years, and for Claudius this would mean an adult onset, which would have deteriorated from the initial symptoms; hypothetically this could allow for onset after accession to principate and up to fourteen years of degenerating health until his death in AD54. The childhood illness is a problem here; if it was prevalent enough to prevent an official career, then life expectancy becomes an issue unless it was something else of a temporary nature; this would leave only the apparent childhood speech disorder and the notion that Claudius was a bit slow-witted, which may have allowed him to at least be pushed into the army and the provincial legions. The Ancient evidence of illnesses tends to report conditions of a severe nature, like pulmonary tuberculosis,¹⁸² or Diphtheria, Polio¹⁸³ and Typhus,¹⁸⁴ all of which would have been serious and probably fatal unless the sufferer was very fortunate and survived.

A degenerative disease of advancing years is osteoarthritis which affected 80% of adults in the fourth century AD,¹⁸⁵ and may have applied to Claudius. However the description in Pliny of Domitius Tullus allows that condition to be ruled out:

¹⁷⁸ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.231, and for previous views see notes 17, 23, 30, 46, 103; for current views on the subject see notes 7, 11, 14, 22, 29, 39, 62.

¹⁷⁹ The appearance of a gait disorder, dysarthria, limb ataxia, tremors, nystagmus usually occurs first, and the common later signs are hearing problems, vertigo, impaired urinary control and forgetfulness, Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.232.

¹⁸⁰ Friedrich's Ataxia, the childhood onset disease can be discounted for Claudius as death is usually between 26-36 years of age, Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.240.

¹⁸¹ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.232, the disease is passed on as either a recessive or dominant hereditary ataxia. If there is no family history of such an illness, 'subsequent generations may prove this apparently sporadic occurrence of a cerebellar degenerative disease to be just the first recognised case of a recessively inherited disorder', Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1983) p.232.

¹⁸² R. Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire*, 1988 p.180-81.

¹⁸³ Jackson (1998) p.180 cites skeletons showing unilateral atrophy in arm bones, where an unequal bone length is evidence of irregular bone growth.

¹⁸⁴ Jackson (1998) p.179.

¹⁸⁵ Osteoarthritis affected most people from age 30 onwards because of the lower life expectancy of the working population; Jackson p176 puts the mean age of death at between 35-50 years, and as it is a disease

‘Crippled and deformed in every limb, he could only enjoy his vast wealth by contemplating it and could not even turn in bed without assistance. He also had to have his teeth cleaned and brushed for him – a squalid and pitiful detail – and when complaining about the humiliations of his infirmity was often heard to say that every day he licked the fingers of his slaves. Yet he went on living, and kept his will to live, helped chiefly by his wife, whose devoted care turned the former criticism of her marriage into a tribute of admiration’.¹⁸⁶

The sympathetic handling of the subject matter brings into question Suetonius’ description of the emperor in *Claud.*XXX; Pliny and Suetonius were contemporaries and friends,¹⁸⁷ so a difference in time cannot account for the disparate styles of handling very similar material. There is not space available to devote to analysis of the reasons for the difference between the two portraits but the contrast should not be lost.

5.4b Olivopontocerebellar Atrophy

There are diseases that have very similar symptoms to those descriptions of Claudius and this section demonstrates the problems of producing a viable conclusion because so many neurological diseases have those symptoms. The sources’ concentration on voice quality is reflected in the discussion of this disease. If one temporarily suspends the difficulty of identifying the childhood ailments, one cerebellar disorder presents similar symptoms to those reported in Claudius, Olivopontocerebellar Atrophy (OPCA),¹⁸⁸

of wear and tear on the joints caused by hard usage and repeated shocks or trauma to the joints, for a discussion see Jackson (1998) p177-78.

¹⁸⁶ Pliny, *Letters* 8.18.9 trans. B.Radice Loeb 1969 cited by Jackson (1998) p.176; the unknown aristocratic wife had been criticised for marrying a rich man *and* an invalid, ‘whom even a wife had known him when young and healthy might have found an object of disgust’, Pliny *Ep.* 8.18.8.

¹⁸⁷ Pliny.*Letters* 3.8, a letter from Pliny to Suetonius about the latter transferring his office of military tribune to a relation.

¹⁸⁸ B.W. Konigsmark, L.P. Weiner, ‘The Olivopontocerebellar Atrophies: A Review’, 1970 p.227-241; M.Critchley, J.G. Greenfield, ‘Olivopontocerebellar Atrophy’, 1948 p.343-363; L.P. Weiner, B.W. Konigsmark, J. Stoll Jr., J.W. Magladery, ‘Hereditary Olivopontocerebellar Atrophy and Retinal Degeneration’, 1967 p364-376; S.Fahn ‘Parkinsonism’, 1995 p.713-30, see p.720-1; Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1981) p.247 table3; OPCA is a group of ataxias where there are pathological changes in the olivary nuclei (sited in the medulla), pons and cerebellum (where nerve impulse feedback occurs to correct muscle movement); for example a lesion in the medulla can result in contralateral hemiplegia where the pyramidal tract crosses over to the opposite side, hence a left side lesion results in right side paralysis, but a lesion in the upper medulla can affect muscles supplied by the vagus and glossopharyngeal nerves which

which is mainly a dominantly inherited ataxia; of the five types, two may have some bearing on Claudius' illness: type 1 Menzel which can be of a sporadic nature and type 2 Fickler-Winkler.¹⁸⁹ The Menzel type is a late-onset ataxia, with gait and limb movement disorder, head and limb tremor, dysarthria, choreiform movements and sensory deficits that appear around the age of 50.¹⁹⁰ Although there is cerebellar atrophy, one finds that the mental faculties (mentation) remain intact, but dysarthria 'evolves from slurred or monotonous to explosive and high-pitched speech'.¹⁹¹

Critchley and Greenfield describe a case history from onset at the age of 54, to death five years later; the degeneration of the patient is charted throughout the course of the illness, which begins with an unsteady gait and collapses, followed by left arm tremor at the age of 56. A year later the limb ataxia was such that writing was difficult, and on admission to hospital the following year speech was slurred, limb ataxia was pronounced with some 'intention tremor' in the arms. A year later the patient was unable to stand and could not walk, while speech became 'virtually unintelligible.... it was grossly slurred, jerky, forced and at times explosive',¹⁹² which relates to spastic dysphonia, the strained-strangled production of speech. It is notable that from this condition the patient deteriorated further: 'bulbar (or Pseudobulbar) manifestations arose, with anarthria, dysphagia, salivation and emotivity',¹⁹³ plus additional factors of muscle rigidity, a lack of movement and an expressionless face; the last group do not correspond with the reports of Claudius in the last few months of his life. The decline of the patient is so marked and rapid, resulting in severe and debilitating symptoms, that one would expect some form of comment, as the march of this disorder is usually a steady progression,¹⁹⁴ and the interval between appearance of the first symptoms and death is a matter of years, usually between four and six.¹⁹⁵ This case study demonstrates it is unlikely to be the

can cause contralateral difficulties of oral musculature of phonation and hoarseness or swallowing, see Gatz p.34-36,78-81.

¹⁸⁹ Menzel is autosomal dominant, and Fickler-Winkler is autosomal recessive.

¹⁹⁰ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1981) p.246; Konigsmark & Weiner p.227 and table 1 p.228 has onset between 14-58 years, and death from 32-60 years and describe clumsiness of the hands, tremor of the body and extremities, sensory loss, involuntary movements and UMN signs. Death is usually in between 50 and 60, and it is caused by respiratory infection. Konigsmark & Weiner (1970) p.227-31 reviews seven studies which demonstrate the passage of the disease across the generations – fig.1 p.229 shows a 1938 study of one family where 27 people are affected across five generations of 87 members. There is no current evidence about the Julio-Claudians and inherited ataxia.

¹⁹¹ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1981) p.246.

¹⁹² Critchley & Greenfield (1948) p.348.

¹⁹³ Critchley & Greenfield (1948) p.348.

¹⁹⁴ Critchley & Greenfield (1948) p.353.

¹⁹⁵ Critchley & Greenfield (1948) p.352-57, a discussion of clinical manifestations as per case 1 p.352-7.

disease Claudius had, but the symptoms, albeit extreme, can be interpreted to partially fit the sources' version.

In discussing articulation disorders, Critchley and Greenfield focus on the strained-strangled quality of the speech, and they give descriptions of 'inspiratory speech' and 'sea-lion speech' which could be the type of speech alluded to by Seneca and Juvenal when they use the imagery of seals to describe Claudius' voice quality.¹⁹⁶ The tremor signs of cerebellar disorders in the head or limbs are identified as a 'static tremor', and are often not present in the early stages of the disease, and if so would this tremor be less in line with Suetonius and Dio, especially the former's description of the tremor.

The Fickler-Winkler type is similar to Menzel, except for the recessive pattern of inheritance; where 'adult patients develop a gait disorder, limb ataxia, kinetic tremor and a head tremor'.¹⁹⁷ Sporadic OPCA, where there is no family history of the disease, has symptoms in the olives, pons and cerebellum and therefore it is assumed that some or all cases belong to OPCA II, but there are complications in diagnosis because symptoms of Parkinson's can also present themselves in the patient.¹⁹⁸ Although OPCA displays many of the symptoms of Claudius' illness, and there are wide variations within types, (e.g. type 1 shows eye disorders, dysmetria and eventual dementia), the rapid degeneration makes it hard to apply satisfactorily to Claudius' life. The relatively late onset leaves childhood illnesses and any speech disorder unconnected, which may be reasonable, but the severity of the ataxic dysarthria combined with a stutter would leave Claudius, the *princeps*, virtually unintelligible on a constant basis.

¹⁹⁶ The spastic dysphonia suggested by Critchley in 1939 is the strained-strangled quality identified in the cerebellar ataxias by Darley, Aronson & Brown (1975) p.156ff, 163-4, and see list on dysarthria dimensions in section 5.3.1.e

¹⁹⁷ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1981) p.248; although Konigsmark & Weiner (1970) p.228 table 1 describes a slightly different pathology to type 1, the clinical manifestations are similar. Type 3 OPCA has retinal degeneration, and there is no evidence Claudius had sight problems, either in loss of vision or a gaze disturbance, Konigsmark & Weiner (1970) p.231-33, Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1981) p.248-49, Weiner *et al* p.364ff. Type 5 OPCA has extrapyramidal (nerves involved with muscular reflexes) signs of ophthalmoplegia (paralysis of eye muscles) and dementia, for which there is no evidence regarding Claudius. Type 4 OPCA presents mild to severe cerebellar ataxia with onset on the patients 20s or 30s, and dysarthria and dysphagia appear, Konigsmark & Weiner (1970) p.233-36, Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg (1981) p.249. The wide variety of clinical symptoms and pathological findings of OPCA 4 is reflected by Konigsmark & Weiner's attempt at dividing the type into three sub-groups; Friedrich's Ataxia and defects of co-ordination and reflexes; cerebellar ataxia and moderated defects of co-ordination; spastic paraplegia with minimal co-ordination deficit – on these grounds it seems difficult to place Claudius in any of these subgroups.

¹⁹⁸ Konigsmark & Weiner (1970) p.239.

The sources do not reflect any sort of significant physical degeneration in Claudius' health over his time as *princeps*, but Dio does mention an illness that was serious enough to warrant the sham display of Nero organising Games to be given in the (false) hope of recovery, and Claudius did recover.¹⁹⁹ The illness occurred any time up to AD53 and Nero's marriage to Octavia, which took place after Claudius improved.²⁰⁰ If that illness was mentioned at all, then a comment on any worsening prevailing condition would warrant inclusion, and if it was apparent one would question the reason for exclusion from Suet.*Claud.*XXX and especially XXXI where Suetonius claims Claudius' health had improved. Suetonius writes that particular section as a compartment with apparently static clinical manifestations; there is no sense of a degenerative state, and one only has to look at the handling of Tiberius' moral and physical deterioration by the sources to realise that Claudius could have provided an equally good palette for painting that picture. The concluding section will consider the possibility of a significant period of benign symptoms and late slide into illness.

5.5 Source material: symptoms of recovery and late onset?

Is there an alternative scenario to a degenerative disease, and an alternative to the prognosis outlined which would therefore be grave for someone to chosen to be *princeps*? A late onset degenerative disease would not be helpful if Claudius was *princeps*, because more likely than not, the prognosis would usually be rapid and terminal.²⁰¹ Therefore, this section will explore the possibilities of Claudius having a late-onset disease where the physical decline was not vertical.

I will suggest that Suetonius offers the evidence of recovery from an initial illness, followed by a period of stability. The closing section will demonstrate that CP cannot fit this hypothesis, and will show the results of the disease that endure. Having rejected the

¹⁹⁹ Dio.61.33.9-11.

²⁰⁰ Dio.61.33.11.

²⁰¹ See Motor Neuron diseases, Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis, Primary Lateral Sclerosis, Multifocal Motor Neuropathies, and Guillain-Barré Syndrome in Appendix 5.3. Post-Polio Syndrome is considered in ch.6.

neurological diseases with potential to be Claudius' illness, the remainder of this chapter will reject CP, one of the choices of classical scholarship. The section will demonstrate that Cerebral Palsy as a diagnosis is imprecise. It is a disorder where the symptoms are a poor fit to the sources, plus there is no possibility of remission, and it because of these factors it is virtually impossible (unless it was so mild to virtually imperceptible), that Claudius suffered from CP of any description and became *princeps*.

There may be recovery or a late-onset illness in adult life, or a combination of factors. Suetonius states that Claudius' health improved, which seems at odds with the picture he sketches of the trembling, stuttering, dribbling emperor. The epidemiology of polio allows for a form of recovery. This evidence may prove to be the launch pad for understanding the nature of Claudius' illness.

*Valetudine sicut olim gravi ita princeps prospera usus est excepto stomachi dolore, quo se correptum etiam de consciscenda morte cogitasse dixit.*²⁰²

A translation of *Claud.*XXXI could be 'since he had poor health some time ago, as *princeps* he enjoyed better fortune, except for the 'stomach/oesophageal' pains that he said nearly drove him to suicide'.

Suet.*Claud.*XXX describes Claudius, in a standard biographical *topos* where the characteristics of his illness are defined for the reader.²⁰³ The problem is that *Claud.*XXXI states that Claudius' health was good after becoming *princeps*, therefore *Claud.*XXX gives the impression that these disorders were apparent only before accession. *Claud.*XXXI is tenable (on its own) if it is interpreted as part of XXX, where the initial illness has receded or stabilised, reaching a plateau. Another difficulty if one accepts Suetonius' chronology is that Claudius had these characteristics during Gaius' principate and before. It is more likely that the description in *Claud.*XXX is more relevant to the last years of his life; one has to account for the inclusion of the description of his grey hair (*specie canitie*) with the other physical attributes of the *princeps*. Dio.60.2.4 says Claudius was ill throughout his life, representing the time

²⁰² Suet.*Claud.*XXXI.

²⁰³ For Suetonius' use of analysis to deconstruct narrative and reconstruct under chapter headings Wallace-Hadrill (1995) p.13, and physical defects in *Lives*, p.48, 67, 71.

(before and?) after *Claud.XXXI*. If Dio was reliable, it could put Suetonius' chronology in question in the text, although it is possible that he wanted to highlight the fact that any deterioration was caused by women and freedmen as an attack on his weak character.²⁰⁴ The problem of course is using Dio to act as a critical mechanism for interpreting Suetonius, especially as here he seems to be following Suetonius. If Claudius had CP, ALS, TS or similar then there is very little chance of remission, especially the one described by Suetonius; there is no miraculous cure from a neurological disease, and even less chance with a degenerative disease.

There is a lack of information regarding Claudius' life from his youth right up until the involvement in Gaius' principate, and *Claud.XXXI* could account for that time when the initial illnesses were followed by many years of relatively mild symptoms. This would have allowed Suetonius to state that Claudius' health was sufficient for the task in hand, in direct comparison to the debilitating childhood illness which severely affected his health. Suetonius' comparison is valid in the proper context, but the chronology in the text does not give the proper context, which may be because it came from another source and had to be inserted somewhere in the structure of Suetonius' work. What Suetonius probably means is that Claudius' health was better than when he was ill, which does not necessarily mean that he enjoyed 'good health', just that it was better than 'worse', and at least temporarily better than it had been. It is a question of semantics regarding 'good health', and if it is not taken to mean something analogous to 'excellent health' then it will change how the phrase is interpreted. It could be argued that *Claud.XXXI* tells us nothing other than beforehand his health was bad and after accession his health was favourable – it is important to note there is no timescale here, and Suetonius uses *gravi* (bad) as the opposite of *prospera* (excellent).²⁰⁵ Suetonius uses *valetudine prospera* in relation to Julius Caesar since his health was not an obstacle, so his function as a leader was not impaired.²⁰⁶ The conclusion can be drawn that Suetonius reports Claudius' health was fine by the time he was *princeps*. I would suggest that the chapters XXX-XXXI have been switched and if the order is now reversed, it removes the incongruity of the claim that Claudius' health improved from the symptoms described in XXX. This would allow Claudius' health to have improved from the acute illness in

²⁰⁴ See Hurley (2001) p.16-7 on freedmen and wives, p.17-20 on structure and style, p.202.

²⁰⁵ May be being used in a similar way *res properi* and *res adversus*. Suetonius uses the *valetudine* (health) once, but it refers to both *gravi* and *prospera* in the sentence.

²⁰⁶ Suet.*Julius*.45.1. *valetudine prospera* translates as 'of sound health', or possibly even 'rude health'.

childhood, to establish a plateau where the results of the initial illness are relatively stable, and that XXX contains a description of Claudius in later life as *princeps*.

Suetonius also had the difficulty of not knowing exactly when the symptoms of disease started and later re-appeared; all he could do was to put the information he had into the structure he was using. A degenerative disease that shows a period of remission or a benign feature before re-emerging in later life would help to put Suetonius *Claud.*XXX and XXXI, and the events of AD41 onwards into some form of context.

Claudius was not allowed to give an open and true account of the Civil War because it might have denigrated Augustus. If that was so he would probably be under twenty-two (or < twenty-nine) if Livy was alive;²⁰⁷ it is likely that it was when Augustus was still alive, which would also place it before AD14. Claudius could not have been ill at that point. It is likely that any childhood illness had receded or stabilised by then because Suetonius only records his difficulty speaking; there is no mention of Claudius reading seated, or there being any tremors present in front of such an audience.²⁰⁸ It would be patently obvious to all if the condition was as severe as reported in Suet.*Claud.*XXX and would have elicited some form of comment from the gathered crowd other than derision of his speech difficulty. Claudius would either be under 22, or under 24, but Suetonius uses *adulescentia*²⁰⁹ to describe the particular time of development, and this usually denotes the period between 14 and 29 years of age which would put the possible timeframe between 14 and 24. This would follow the statement that Claudius spent much time with Livia and Antonia, and would point to some form of improvement over the illness which caused that particular state of affairs.

²⁰⁷ Suet.*Claud.*XLI.1 Claudius encouraged by Livy to begin writing history, but he was criticised by his mother Antonia and surviving grandmother Livia, as Octavia, wife of Antony, had died before Claudius' birth. Livy 64BC-AD12 in Syme or 59BC-AD17 *OCD*³ p.877; Antonia 36BC-37AD *OCD*³ p.113; Octavia ?BC-11BC *OCD*³ p.1059 who was married to Mark Antony, while his paternal grandmother was Livia Drusilla 58BC-AD29 *OCD*³ p.876.

²⁰⁸ If there were no tremor present when Claudius spoke then this incident pre-accession would remove the any possible link between stuttering and TS specifically in Claudius' case.

²⁰⁹ *puer* is <16 used up to the *toga virilis*, *adulescentia* from >14<30, and *iuvenis* covers the age from >20<40.

Suetonius *Claud.*XLI.1 relates that Claudius' recital broke down, and that later he used the services of a *lector*, while Augustus states that Claudius' declaiming was good, and this practice was learnt to be spoken not read aloud; the recital was Claudius reading his own work, which he patently was not able to carry off. It is therefore reasonable to propose that because of the difficulty reading caused by his stutter and the inability to use avoidance techniques to circumvent the written word, that when he gave speeches then either he did so spontaneously using notes or he learnt them off by heart.²¹⁰ If Claudius was ill at the time of receiving the *toga virilis*, this recital would take place after that event because the use of *adulescentia* means Claudius was not classified as *puer* (boy) which he would be before the ceremony. In addition, if the above holds, then the illness of c.AD4 (?) would have subsided by the time of the recital. There is no mention of Claudius being carried there or sitting down, which means the possibility of a congenital disease or a severe disability like one of the cerebral palsies, is significantly reduced – the fact that it was not mentioned does not exclude the possibility of illness, but the concentration on speech implies that the dysfluency was the single and major factor at that time. A hypothesis of an early acute illness, before or around the age of 14 is therefore still valid, and there is evidence that between the ages of 14 and 24 it is likely that Claudius suffered no obvious or serious side-effects or consequences of that disease or infection, because of the apparent recovery. This period of post-illness recovery probably heralded a period of relatively stable health which would continue for the next twenty-five to thirty years; this will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed some of the possibilities for Claudius' illness, and looked at the noteworthy points of each disease in relation to the man depicted by the ancient sources. The most recent scholarship has bunched around cerebral palsy which includes athetoid CP and dystonia but these hypotheses suffer from the reality of there being no remission from the disease. They are hypothetical but not necessarily practical answers. In addition there is difficulty reconciling some of the characteristics of cerebral palsy with the position as *princeps*. Drooling signals difficulty eating, and the dyskinesia of

²¹⁰ Leon (1948) p.83 proposes two scenarios where Claudius either read a prepared speech or declaimed from memory; Levick (1990) p.17-8.

athetoid CP means a sinuous writhing movement of the limbs, or limbs and head from infancy, and this is not attested in the sources over Claudius' lifetime. The cognitive function is unaffected and this would correlate with Claudius' intellectual capabilities, but that does not override the other aspects of CP that have to be taken into account.

Thygesen has argued for Tourette's but this seems equally unsatisfactory, especially as much of the argument is based on behavioural aspects. The recent work on the link between TS and stuttering is of genuine interest for future research, even though it is difficult to apply here.

The sources' insistence on some form of tremor obliged an examination of the condition, and there can be a tremor present in stuttering but it is hard to measure. The Tremor also has a degenerative quality and this is not reflected by the source accounts, which baldly state the head movement was apparent with speech, but Suetonius makes no mention of a hand tremor. Seneca mentions Claudius' gesture but that has been established in this thesis as not being as a result of shaking or a tremor – maybe he makes an "odd gesture", but not a "shaky gesture", and if it was due to fear would that not be reflected by using a word like trembling, or fearful? The spread of tremor from one hand to the other over time, means tremor is apparent in the hands first, and the head last, meaning it is unlikely to be the illness. The combination of a tremor in the head and hands is only found in Dio, and the earlier sources should be treated as more reliable on this aspect.

The brief examination of diseases such as OPCA demonstrates the potential for applying symptoms to a disease. In this case, the concentration on the strained-strangled speech quality of the disease reflects the importance placed on Claudius' voice quality by the sources. Whether it was dysarthria and/or dysphonia is not certain, but the conclusion of OPCA is too severe with too rapid a physical decline if one takes into account the circumstances and chronology of Claudius' life – something that is missing in any hypothesis about CP.

The sources are not writing a medical treatise on Claudius, unlike modern scholarship as a whole which has attempted to divine a diagnosis by taking particularly Seneca,

Suetonius and Dio at face value. The sources are playing a different game – and within their ‘group’ they have different reasons for writing about Claudius. They are not writing about cerebral palsy. Seneca has written a satirical attack on the previous *princeps*, performed in the reign of Nero, and he puts forward a picture that allows a judgement on Claudius’ character. Suetonius has assembled his evidence for a standard biographical chapter on the health of the emperor in question; he uses the sources available to him, and unquestionably they are not all pro-Claudius. Dio is writing a history of Rome, a mammoth undertaking that required judicious editing which may not have always been the case if he did not acknowledge the significance of some of the finer detail. The concentration on the character of Claudius, promoting the idea that in the main his maladies reflected a moral weakness, delivers another problem. The paradox lies in Claudius is written of as both bad, and sometimes good, how he was gravely ill and disabled yet was also a long-serving *princeps*. Recently the default choice of scholars has been within the sphere of cerebral palsy, but to make that feasible both for the available evidence and for the subject to be *princeps* it would have to be mild, so mild it would probably not warrant comment, and certainly not merit the description found in Seneca and Suetonius. The secondary sources tend to portray the principate in a favourable light, but cannot reconcile the positive and the negative spin; modern and ancient are in agreement and at loggerheads. At this stage interpretation is the real problem of Claudius. The next chapter will provide one answer to the impasse.

6. When you hear hoof beats, expect horses not zebras: Ti. Germanicus and Post Polio Syndrome

The final chapter will review the symptoms of poliomyelitis, and how the late results of polio has symptoms similar to the sources' description of Claudius' health and characteristics. A diagnosis can be reached by a combination of many disorders or diseases, and this may produce a complex of diseases that requires a specific set of conditions to be met. This is valid, but it may be harder to fulfil the conditions realistically if the diagnosis produced a combination of three or four pathological or physiological factors that had to occur together.

The title of the chapter sets out the aim: to look for the most likely and the most feasible single explanation for Claudius' illness and to use that to explain the paradox found in the sources. This chapter will outline the argument to allow identification of the late-onset illness as Post Polio Syndrome which is the long-term result of acute polio - this follows the stated aim of producing a simple and elegant answer to the problem of Claudius, instead of a baroque combination of disorders to cover all the eventualities.

The previous chapters should be considered while reading this chapter, because those discussions are part of the process of producing the information needed to reach a conclusion. The discussion in chapter one that considered Claudius' birth, and the potential for childhood illness reduced the likelihood of a congenital illness, or one that occurred in early infancy. The events in Claudius' accession demonstrate the relatively benign state of the illness at that time, but the evidence of an atrophied leg is far from trivial. The analysis of the sources shows how there is information in them that can be used to produce a diagnosis. The fragmenting of the source material to give separate pieces of information helps to steer through chapter five. The previous chapters, no matter the path taken within them, all produce information that is vital to allowing the discovery of the final piece of the jigsaw, that there was not a single disease apparent throughout his life. The recovery from the attack by the poliovirus, which left some residual muscle weakness, and the long-term effects of

this weakness would not be seen for a very long time. The next phase of polio has similar long-term results of overusing anything - it wears out and breaks. This is exactly what happened to Claudius, and will be discussed in the following sections.

The epidemiology of polio is engaged first, followed by a survey of the likelihood of finding polio in early Rome, then a review of how the disease is transmitted. The problems encountered with a diagnosis are considered, and the pathology of the disease inside the body is analysed, and this produces important results about Claudius' abilities remaining intact. The final section on polio is to ascertain how Claudius' symptoms relate to the acute infection of polio. The extensive opening discussion will set out how the poliovirus works, and if it was possible for it to be found in first century Rome. The epidemiology of the virus is important to understand how Claudius might have contracted it and how, in the initial acute attack, it affected his body. The evidence for the later Post Polio helps to conform the appearance of poliovirus - in this case it is a two-way equation where one half helps to confirm the existence of the other in the sources.

A major development in studies involving polio patients is the identification of Post Polio Syndrome, and this study will compare the latest research to the source material. The chapter will look at each physiological factor identified as a result of the survey in chapter four, and in turn and compare them to Claudius' reported problems, therefore sections on muscle weakness, pain, fatigue, sleep disorders, cold intolerance, stomach pain and drooling are analysed.

6.1a The boy, the virus, and the city

The relationship between polio and the ancient city is significant as it helps in identifying the pathway of the disease, or more precisely, a specific relationship between the poliovirus and Claudius. If there is a possibility of acute infection then it allows for a late onset stage of the disease after decades of stability - and when it

happens, the deterioration of health is an important factor to identify. Poliomyelitis presents a problem of epidemiology for this analysis;¹ as 'epidemic poliomyelitis is a modern disease related to improved sanitation and human hygiene of the western world',² it is likely that the wild-type poliovirus was present in Rome in the 1st century AD. Therefore an epidemic, one that would spread throughout the population is not to be expected.

The epidemiology of poliomyelitis shows a disease spread by human contact, but unlike measles where it passes from one case to another, polio is spread through mild or subclinical cases, where both clinical and inapparent (very mild) infections are infectious, and both can act as carriers over several weeks.³ The poliomyelitis virus occurs in three strains, *Brunhilde* (type 1), *Lansing* (type 2), and *Leon* (type 3), and it is classified along with similar viral forms of encephalomyelitis in a natural grouping.⁴ For some considerable time the epidemiology of poliomyelitis had been constantly under revision, but the spread of this highly infectious disease is through human contact, complicated by mild cases and carriers.⁵ Poliomyelitis is identified as one of four types: 'paralytic', a major illness where paralysis and muscle weakness develops; 'non-paralytic' (a misnomer), where the major illness is in the Central Nervous System (CNS) but residual paralysis does not happen; 'abortive poliomyelitis' is a brief illness limited to the signs of 'minor illness' (a sore throat, vomiting and fever), and the clinical signs of a CNS attack do not occur; 'Inapparent infection' is a silent infection where antibodies develop to combat the infection'.⁶

¹ Epidemiology is the study of occurrence, distribution and control of disease

² Jubelt & Drucker, 'In tropical and semitropical areas, poliovirus circulates year around, the so-called endemic pattern, whereas in temperate zones, epidemics peak in the summer and early fall. From ancient times until the late 1800s, poliovirus activity was primarily endemic due to crowding, poor personal hygiene, and poor public sanitation. By early childhood, most individuals had been infected by all three types of poliovirus, and infrequently sporadic cases of paralytic poliomyelitis or true "infantile paralysis" were seen', and see n45-50,

<http://www.ott.zynet.co.uk/polio/lincolnshire/library/jubelt/polioandthepps.html> 6/01/05.

³ J.R.Paul, 'Epidemiology of poliomyelitis', 1955, p.13ff.

⁴ B. Jubelt and JR Miller, 'Viral Infections', 1995 p.145ff., classify polioviruses, cocksackieviruses and echoviruses as being enteroviruses (found in the gastro-intestinal tract) that are capable of inflaming the Central Nervous System (CNS). S.Gard, 'The Virus of Poliomyelitis', 1955 p.216-7 also outlines other viruses similar to polio in a broader grouping, the Teschen virus of swine encephalomyelitis, Cocksackie viral group, and encephalomyocarditis viruses; it is noted that the Teschen virus is related to polio, but it will not be discussed further.

⁵ Paul (1955) p.13.

⁶ Paul (1955) p.14-15, fig.3 p.14; also fig.6.1 below.

The medical profession did not regard acute paralysis in infants as a disease before the late eighteenth century; it was in the nineteenth century that polio flourished: 'the disease was regarded at the time as ubiquitous, and due to 'teething', 'foul bowel' or a 'fever'.'⁷ American doctors in the 1830s recognised club-foot due to a paralysis caused by teething or fever in infancy, but did not comment on its prevalence;⁸ it is likely to be the same as it was in the tropics or the east,⁹ and urban populations in the 1950s 'where substandard sanitary conditions exist, where the disease is endemic and limited to infants, and where it is not regarded as a problem of major importance'.¹⁰ During the pre-epidemic era before the late nineteenth century polio seem to have been exclusively a disease of the under fives¹¹ and 'one might term the primitive form of poliomyelitis the true "infantile paralysis"',¹² where 90% of paralytic cases were infants; this changed over time to the 5-9 age group, then the 7-15 age group in the 1950s – polio varies with population density, the more people the younger the age of those affected.¹³

If there is no evidence of epidemic polio, then were conditions suitable in Rome for endemic polio? Rome had a system of aqueducts to bring fresh water into the districts within the city, but the removal of human waste is rather less systematic.¹⁴ Although there is evidence of public latrines, and latrines flushed by the Baths, the evidence for domestic sewage disposal is less well documented; most multi-storey buildings in Rome did not have running water, and homeowners had the right to connect to the public street drains, but many chose to use cesspits instead.¹⁵ A site in

⁷ Paul (1955) p.9.

⁸ Paul (1955) p.9.

⁹ For discussion and survey of polio and eradication policy see Leslie Roberts, 'Polio Endgame: Polio: The Final Assault?', 2004 p.1960-1968; 'Two Steps Forward, One Step Back in Polio Fight', 2004 p.1096.

¹⁰ Paul (1955) p.9.

¹¹ Paul (1955) p.12.

¹² Paul (1955) p.12.

¹³ Paul (1955) p.12; polio has been suggested as a diagnosis of a Neolithic skeleton from Sussex, and a Bronze age skeleton from Norfolk, even though 'bone growth arrest or muscle wasting can be caused by other infections or traumas other than polio', C. Roberts, K. Manchester, *The Archaeology of Disease*², 1995 p.134. Fig. 7.5 shows possible polio in a skeleton from the 8-10th century from Northampton because of failure of growth of the femur, tibia, fibula and foot in the right leg of an adult aged 20-30; although it should be noted that the arms look short in the photograph and the authors propose polio, but do not exclude tuberculosis.

¹⁴ H. Dodge, 'Greater than the Pyramids, the Water Supply of Ancient Rome', 2000 p.171 fig. 8.2.

¹⁵ Dodge (2000) p.191-2.

Pompeii shows a room where a kitchen and latrine are combined,¹⁶ and it is exactly in this kind of environment that an endemic poliovirus could be transmitted, initially from faeces and then from hand to mouth via food preparation. The low-lying areas around Rome could be flooded by waste if the river level rose and backed-up the drains into the houses; another factor was the market for using human waste as fertiliser;¹⁷ these all meant there were many opportunities for contact with human waste, regardless of constructions like the *Cloaca maxima*, the open ditch where waste was flushed into the Tiber along with any surplus water because of an overflow from the fountains,¹⁸ although it did have to be cleaned manually on some occasions.¹⁹

The problems with sanitation rather than the provision of an unpolluted water supply, is the main factor concerning polio in Rome, and would be paralleled in those areas classed as underdeveloped in the 1950s where 'the indigenous population in many of these countries may, broadly speaking, be divided into two sections: the persons who live as their ancestors did in rural areas, and those who have migrated to the neighbourhood of recently established towns where they live in slums. The housing conditions of most of these people, whether in rural or urban areas are primitive',²⁰ in the sense that they lack indoor plumbing and suffer from overcrowding. This is not to claim that Rome was subject to an epidemic; the opposite is true because modern hygiene limits an infant's chances of early infection and so the lack of early immunising infections led to the possibility of epidemics that affect older age groups.²¹ It is in the 'primitive communities' where the virus is endemic, where flies can spread the virus from waste, and water can become polluted, most infants are infected early in life and 'such communities are not liable to epidemics of poliomyelitis'.²²

¹⁶ Dodge (2000) p.192.

¹⁷ Dodge (2000) p.192.

¹⁸ Dodge (2000) p.193.

¹⁹ Dodge (2000) p.192 cites *Digest* 43.23.2.

²⁰ J.H.S. Gear, 'Poliomyelitis in the Under-developed Areas of the world', 1955 p.31.

²¹ Gear (1955) p.34; the epidemic is caused by the spread of an initial infection of one type of poliovirus because of the large numbers of children who lack immunity.

²² Gear (1955) p.34; for an explanation of Passive immunity and Active immunity to poliovirus see p51-4; As regards the 1st century it may be of interest to this study to compare the results for seasonal incidence of polio, for example epidemics in Africa to the fevers and seasonal disease described by Hippocrates, see Gear table 11 p.37, where polio epidemics have a seasonal element.

In populations where polio is endemic or hyperendemic most cases are found in the young, and that can be over 90% who are under 5 years. If the poliovirus is endemic but the spread of infection is restricted many are not infected when young but are seriously affected in their youth.²³ If the virus is absent for a generation and it is re-introduced into the population, then there will be a widespread epidemic amongst older rather than the youngest age group, because they will not have immunity to that virus. Infants will have gained initial immunity from their mother allowing their own immunity to build - the generation that missed the early exposure to the virus will not have immunity.²⁴

For polio, like malaria, the age distribution of cases reflects the state of immunity of the population; it is further complicated by the fact that the three different polioviruses each require a separate immunity; therefore children would need exposure to all three viruses to be immune from serious infection.²⁵ Type I cause most of the polio epidemics and results in leg, arm and respiratory muscle paralysis; Type II is not a cause of paralysis but it attacks the brainstem which results in Non-paralytic polio; Type III is the rarest and causes leg and arm paralysis and bulbar polio which results in dysphagia, respiratory and blood pressure problems that can be fatal.²⁶ Polio survived because it must have lived inside many people since at least c.1580BC,²⁷ and been spread easily in unhygienic and primitive sanitary conditions; but epidemics were not the norm until the early 20th century which produces 'a Polio

²³ Gear (1955) p.56; he draws a comparison to malaria, where it can be hyperendemic 'clinical manifestations of illness in the older age groups of the indigenous population are rare and epidemics are almost unknown' (Gear p.57).

²⁴ Gear (1955) p.56.

²⁵ R.L. Bruno, *The Polio Paradox*, 2003, p.22; Gear p.57.

²⁶ Bruno (2003) p.22; also M. Falconer, E. Bollenbach, *Non-Paralytic Polio and PPS*, Lincolnshire Post-Polio Library Publication, 1999, 'Bulbar symptoms include diplopia (uncommon), weakness of mastication, facial weakness, dysphagia, dysphonia, nasal voice, regurgitation of fluids through the nose, weakness of the sternocleidomastoid and trapezius (neck) muscles, difficulty in chewing, inability to swallow or expel saliva and respiratory tract secretions. The most life threatening aspect of bulbar poliomyelitis is respiratory involvement due to pontile (central) involvement'. The pons and medulla form the bulbar area and are part of the brainstem.

<http://www.ott.zynet.co.uk/polio/lincolnshire/library/falconer/nonparalytic.html>, 6/01/05. The brainstem also includes the efferent(carries stimuli away from CNS) and afferent (carries stimuli from sensory nerves to the CNS) nuclei of the cranial nerves, plus areas important in the control of muscle movement such as the red nucleus and *substantia nigra* of the midbrain (part of brainstem), Walton p.18.

²⁷ See fig.4.13, *stele* of the priest Ruma, and the mummy of earlier Pharaoh, Siptah. Also see ref. p.168 n151.

paradox: polio epidemics did not occur precisely because everyone was infected with the poliovirus'.²⁸

Therefore either Claudius might have been exposed to the virus during an epidemic, which seems very unlikely, or he was the victim of an endemic virus; but most babies acquire antibodies from their mothers to the bacteria and viruses that are prevalent, in other words the endemic viruses. The antibodies that are passed via blood in the womb will protect a child for six months.²⁹ It is during these initial six months that with further exposure and infection by polioviruses that the infant builds up their own immunity under the protection of their mother's antibodies, 'only rare individuals would not have received their mother's antibodies, or would not have been exposed to polioviruses during the first six protected months'.³⁰ They would have not developed immunity from at least one of the three polioviruses, of which there are fifty strains.³¹ Claudius' birth was outside Rome, in Lugdunum, and the chronological sequence of his exposure to the three virus types would be disrupted or different from the likely sequence in Rome; the fact that he travelled to Rome after a period of probable isolation necessitated by being 'on the road' further complicates the picture. How and where Claudius built up immunity to the poliovirus in Rome over the initial crucial six-month period is therefore open to question. There is the added factor that continuing antibodies would probably not be given to him in his mother's milk, more likely by way of a wet nurse of whom there is no information; it is not inconceivable that he contracted a different and probably virulent strain of the disease in an area which had different strains to those in Rome.³²

²⁸ Bruno (2003) p.39; outlines what he terms the Central Dogma of polio, its long-term survival and the polio paradox citing N.Nathason. In addition, just because there were no epidemics does not mean that nobody could become infected with a virus they had no immunity to, probable confirmation is archaeological evidence cited in ch.4 on how polio works. There is a suggestion that Galen and Hippocrates both 'write about acquired club foot in terms that suggest they may have been describing polio' in F.C. Robbins, T.M. Daniel, 'A History of Poliomyelitis', 1997 p.5.

²⁹ Bruno (2003) p.40.

³⁰ Bruno (2003) p.40.

³¹ Bruno (2003) p.22; the differentiation is concerned with virulence and the extent that the virus can multiply inside the body – some do very little or no damage, hence Sabin's vaccine contains all three viruses but they are non-virulent and yet they still cause the creation of antibodies, (Bruno p.22-3).

³² Another possibility is immunity could have been built up Lugdunum which probably had different strains to Rome, and it might depend on the geographical region his wet nurse came from. There are many possibilities but the point is that here are variables that would allow Claudius not to have immunity.

Wild poliovirus is highly infectious, after entering the body orally the virus takes hold in the pharynx and ileum, and spreads to the lymphoid tissue. Most people (95-99%) have the inapparent or abortive symptoms, but for 1-5% of cases viremia follows where the CNS is attacked,³³ specifically the anterior horns.³⁴ Only 1-2% of all infected develop paralytic poliomyelitis,³⁵ but age is the deciding factor; for children the ratio is 1:1000, and adults it is 1:75 who develop paralysis.³⁶ Flaccid Paralysis usually affects the lower limbs more than the arms, and is normally asymmetrical when two limbs are affected.³⁷

Partial recovery follows paralysis in 6-8 weeks,³⁸ where a plateau is reached in 6-8 months, and defined by when the effected motor neurons recover normal function; the number of motor neurons that reinnervate muscle fibres,³⁹ and muscle hypertrophy (size increase).

The diagnosis of polio can cause big problems, 'it is above all in the diseases of the nervous system that the greatest difficulties are encountered',⁴⁰ and 'the diagnosis of infantile paralysis is not an obvious one. The proportion of diagnostic errors is close to 15%'.⁴¹ The differential diagnosis of paralytic polio to identify it from diseases with similar clinical characteristics requires care, and in many cases in practice it could be another neurological disease, those defined as diseases of the spinal cord, and diseases of the spinal roots and peripheral nerves.⁴² It is by observing the development of the disease and its symptoms that the other neurological diseases can eventually be discounted; it is the combination of 'fever, headache, stiff neck and

³³ The presence of the virus in the bloodstream, Stedman's Medical Dictionary 27th ed.

³⁴ Gawne & Halstead, *Post-Polio Syndrome: Pathophysiology and Clinical Management*, 1995 ch.IV.

³⁵ Also see Paul (1955) p.15, and Table 1 for ratio of infection.

³⁶ Gawne & Halstead (1995) ch.IV; for serological-epidemiological studies of polio see Paul p23-25; for Poliomyelitis in underdeveloped areas of the world in the 1950s, which may bear some similarities to 1st century Rome, J Gear in Debre p.31-57.

³⁷ R. Debré, S. Thieffry 'Symptomatology and diagnosis of poliomyelitis', 1955 p.15; Gawne & Halstead (1995) ch.IV; asymmetric in terms of, for example, right arm and right leg.

³⁸ Gawne & Halstead (1995) ch. IV; Debré and Thieffry p.113 cite 4-6 weeks.

³⁹ New terminal axon sprouts replace the ones previously lost, Gawne & Halstead (1995) ch. IV. In effect the muscle fibres are reconnected to the motor neuron.

⁴⁰ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.121.

⁴¹ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.121.

⁴² Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.121-123, for definitions. Peripheral nerves are those outside the Central Nervous System of brain and spinal cord.

asymmetric flaccid paralysis without sensory loss and a cerebrospinal fluid (CSF) profile consistent with viral infection, that makes paralytic poliomyelitis likely'.⁴³

Even if some symptoms (of polio) are missing, other enteroviruses result in less severe paralysis,⁴⁴ but the polio enterovirus centres mainly on pathological changes in degeneration of motor cells connected with the spinal cord, medulla and motor areas of the cerebral cortex; it is in only severe cases that the breathing and cardiac muscles are directly involved.⁴⁵ The spinal form of polio together with paralysis of the respiratory muscles 'usually accompanies serious cases of poliomyelitis, affecting all four limbs and the trunk', but in a mild form will only paralyse the shoulders and neck.⁴⁶ A consequence of this is demonstrated by the outward symptoms of weak cough, a weak voice where the ability to talk is impaired,⁴⁷ a form of dysarthria, and the seriousness of the resultant condition makes it hard to apply to the evidence on Claudius. The polio patient will have lost most of their control of breathing, especially the diaphragm, and asphyxia or pulmonary obstruction and hyperthermia would then follow – the mortality rate was nearly 90% in 1940.⁴⁸

The muscle fibres that have lost the axon connections to their motor neuron can be 'adopted' by another, or a recovered, motor neuron which may increase the number of fibres it innervates from 100 to 700-2000; the result is that there are fewer motor units doing more work.⁴⁹ The patient recovers movement in the affected limb, and

⁴³ B. Jubelt, J. Drucker, 'Poliomyelitis and Post-polio Syndrome', 1999 also predisposing factors for paralytic polio are age, where older children and adults have extensive and more severe paralysis plus higher incidence of fatalities than younger children; men and boys are more likely to be infected with polio, although pregnancy can increase the chances of paralysis by a factor of three, section 3 refs 3, 52-6. Also see Jubelt & Miller p.145.

⁴⁴ Jubelt & Drucker (1999) section 3, B.Jubelt, J.R. Miller, 'Viral Infections' 1995, p.145. In the differential diagnosis for polio, other diseases are acute spinal cord compression from epidermal abscess, Guillain-Barré Syndrome, acute porphyria, toxic neuropathies and botulism, Jubelt & Drucker ch.6 and notes 3, 69, 72-5. Note: one of the other viruses that can cause Lower Motor Neuron (LMN) paralysis is rabies, which coincidentally for a study of Claudius has a symptom of foaming at the mouth, see Jubelt & Miller p.153-5. For symptoms of Motor Neuron Disease see Appendix 4.3.

⁴⁵ Jubelt & Miller (1995) p.145. Other symptoms observed in people infected with the poliovirus are Acute Cerebellar Ataxia, isolated facial nerve palsies and Transverse Myelitis (Jubelt & Miller p.146), none of which seem applicable to Claudius.

⁴⁶ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.125.

⁴⁷ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.126.

⁴⁸ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.127.

⁴⁹ Gawne & Halstead (1995) ch.IV, notes 20-27, figs 3-6.

can regain normal strength in the limb even if over half of the motor units are disconnected,⁵⁰ and this is aided by muscle hypertrophy. In contrast, muscle atrophy of the affected limb is a direct result of muscle inactivity,⁵¹ and may have consequences for bone growth. This can result in a relative shortening of the paralysed limb⁵² as the polio survivor grows. In addition, children may be susceptible to vascular disturbances and considerable coldness,⁵³ resulting in abnormal body temperature fluctuations.

This bulbar form of poliomyelitis is in 90% of cases found with spinal paralysis either extensive quadriplegic or localised to shoulder muscles, upper limbs or respiratory muscles.⁵⁴ The more common spinal form can have symptoms associated with the bulbar form: somnolence, rhythmic disturbances of breathing and blood flow, and paralysis of the cranial nerves which affect the upper limbs – ‘the prognosis is not seriously aggravated by these additional symptoms, for such slight bulbar involvement is usually regressive’.⁵⁵

Bulbar polio causes breathing difficulties, where the respiratory tract becomes obstructed, ‘The patient seems to disturb the liquids clogging the air passages with every breath’;⁵⁶ this wet phase can also see discharges of mucus and froth.⁵⁷ Circulatory disturbances are signified by their progressive quickening of the pulse (tachycardia), and an unstable blood pressure leads to a bad prognosis – any disturbance of cardiac rhythm occurs shortly before death.⁵⁸ The terminal nature of the respiratory problems in this diagnosis mitigates against it being a suitable resolution.

⁵⁰ Gawne & Halstead (1995) ch.IV.

⁵¹ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.119.

⁵² Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.120.

⁵³ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.120, as a result of paralysis of the posterior muscles; other symptoms may be smooth pink atrophic skin, cold feet, increased sweating, an altered response to cooling and warming, or in severe cases they may be bedridden.

⁵⁴ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.128.

⁵⁵ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.129-30.

⁵⁶ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.129.

⁵⁷ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.129.

⁵⁸ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.129. Progression from drowsiness or changes in consciousness lead to coma in bulbar forms of polio, p.129-30.

The most frequent form of bulbar paralysis is that which affects the mechanism of deglutition,⁵⁹ where signs are choking or coughing after drinking or eating, 'or more rarely, discharge of liquid through the nose'.⁶⁰ These symptoms of dysphagia may parallel Suet.*Claud.*30 and nasal discharge, but the difficulty the patient has swallowing and the accidental flooding of the tracheo-bronchial tract causes serious respiratory difficulties.⁶¹ The result is the patient suffocates, and every attempt at breathing dislodges the mucus in the airways, and saliva or froth can flow from the corners of the mouth – 'paralysis of deglutition is by itself sufficient to bring about death'.⁶² Therefore bulbar polio is unlikely to be an applicable diagnosis for Claudius' illness.

Recovery can be made in some cases, but in general for the more severe cases of bulbar forms, the prognosis is grave,⁶³ where death occurs through high blood pressure resulting in asphyxia, cyanosis, coma, delirium and occasionally convulsions; the course of the illness runs from a few hours to days, and it is only in exceptional cases that patients recovered, having survived for a week.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.130; problems with eating and swallowing food or drink, dysphagia will be outlined in section on post-polio.

⁶⁰ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.130; nasal reflux as part of symptoms of dysphagia. will also be examined in section on post-polio.

⁶¹ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.130 state it is the 'mechanical difficulty of swallowing caused by obstruction of the glottis by pharyngeal secretions and saliva which the patient can no longer swallow'.

⁶² Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.130.

⁶³ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.131.

⁶⁴ Debré & Thieffry (1955) p.131; recovery is good with minimal trace being apparent of sequelae, and paralysis often disappears.

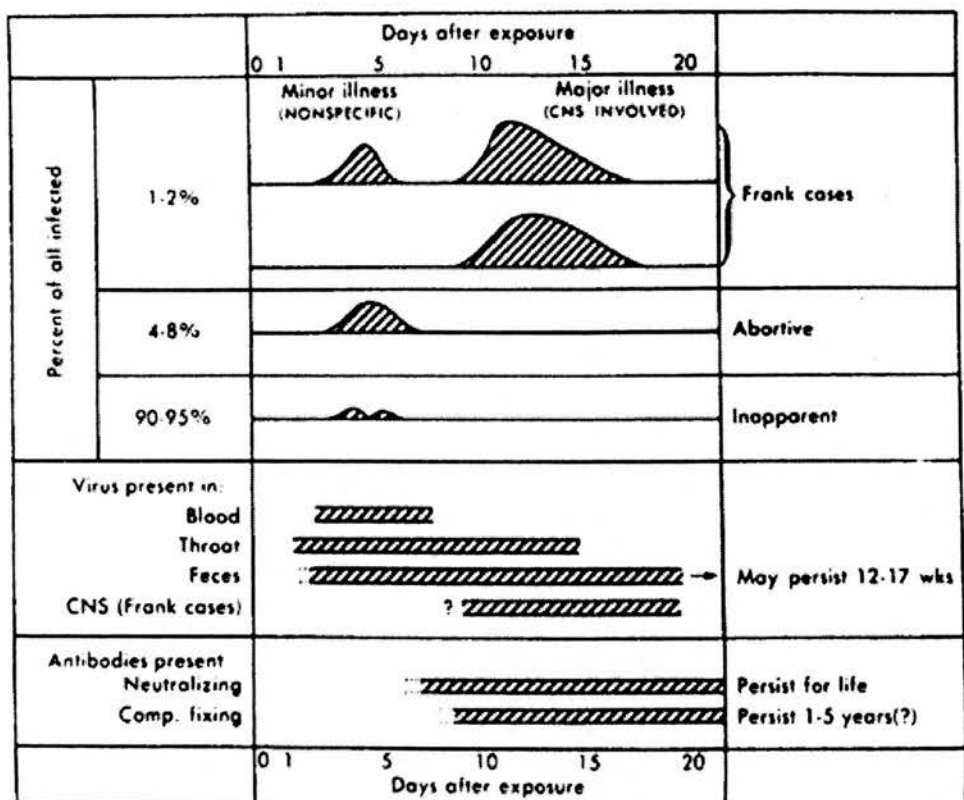


FIG. 6.1 'Schematic diagram of the clinical forms of poliomyelitis correlated with the times at which virus is present in various sites and the development of serum antibodies'. From Jubelt & Drucker who reproduced the above from D.M. Horstmann, 'Epidemiology of poliomyelitis and allied diseases -- 1963', *Yale J Biol Med* 36 (1963) 5-26.

As discussed earlier, the entrance of a poliovirus into the body results in a fever; the virus invades the throat first and then the small intestine where it multiplies; both these areas allow transmission to others.⁶⁵ The virus enters the bloodstream and is carried to neurons in the brain and spinal cord, and multiplies in the brain before passing down the spinal cord neurons to the motor neurons that operate the muscles of the diaphragm, neck, back, arms and legs.⁶⁶ The virus can also travel up from the stomach using the vagus nerve that controls the intestinal muscles, to the brain; the poliovirus can connect into the neurons because of poliovirus receptors which allow

⁶⁵ Bruno (2003) p.23-4.

⁶⁶ Bruno (2003) p.25-6.

the virus to insert proteins or enzymes that will block the assembly of the protein the neuron needs to operate and converse with other neurons, and it is specifically this breakdown in communication that prevents muscle contraction.⁶⁷ The time elapsed for the virus to be present in the patient is shown in fig. 6.1. The virus can reconfigure the neuron's facility to make protein, to assemble new poliovirus, and when this is released the neuron dies; the released virus attaches to other neurons and the whole process repeats itself.⁶⁸ The progression of the poliovirus destroying neurons naturally has consequences. The discovery by Bodian that if the patient suffered paralysis, 96% of neurons were infected, and total paralysis is only prevented by the immune system still producing antibodies, which is what thwarts a 'neural system meltdown'.⁶⁹ Motor neurons that resist the poliovirus will begin to work again, which maybe explains how the patient can suffer paralysis during the fever then walk some months later.⁷⁰ The re-growth of axons to muscles where the motor neurons were obliterated takes between nine months and two years; and the new axon sprouts are connected to many more and quick-growing, muscle fibres (hypertrophic);⁷¹ it takes around 11 months for polio survivors to reach 95% of their new (potential) maximum strength, where fewer axons than before are controlling more muscle fibres per axon trying to maintain the previous muscle strength and operation.⁷²

The work of Bodian showed 'the main event of poliovirus was not myelitis – not an inflammation of spinal cord motor neurons – but an 'encephalitis', an inflammation of the brain'.⁷³ The specific targeting of the brain by the poliovirus has consequences for the study of Claudius. The most common damage is to the brainstem which sends

⁶⁷ Bruno (2003) p.26-7.

⁶⁸ Bruno (2003) p.28.

⁶⁹ Bruno (2003) p.29; Bodian also found that 60% of spinal cord motor neurons linked to muscle would have to be destroyed before weakness is obvious; therefore paralysed or weak muscle has only 40% of the original motor neurons, and an additional discovery was that previously unaffected or non-weakened muscle only have 60% of their original motor neurons, (Bruno p.29). The result is that muscle that was previously assumed to be alright could only be working at less than capacity, and these findings are crucial for the understanding and treatment of PPS 'there is no such thing as an unaffected muscle if any muscle was affected by polio' (Bruno p.30).

⁷⁰ Bruno (2003) p.30-1, the recovery of walking is using smaller reconstructed neurons where the communication ability has decrease.

⁷¹ Bruno (2003) p.32-3. Muscles usually increase in size due to working harder – hypertrophy is enlargement, see *Oxford Concise Medical Dictionary*, 1998.

⁷² W.J. Sherwood cited in Bruno (2003) p.33.

⁷³ D.J.Bodian cited in Bruno(2003) p.34; in every case Bodian found damage to the brain neurons 'in all cases of polio an encephalitis exists whether the symptoms are present or not' (Bruno p.34).

information to the brain cortex, an example would be to keep one awake, or messages via the spinal cord to keep one breathing,⁷⁴ and the poliovirus follows these same pathways therefore causing arm and leg paralysis because it has assaulted the brain neurons that activate muscles.⁷⁵

The main factor is that the virus travels to the cortex and as Bodian discovered 'the polioviruses' lack of interest in any neurons other than the cortical motor neurons prevented polio survivors from having any impairment in their ability to think'.⁷⁶ The discovery that the virus only has a specific neurological target has great significance for this study– if Claudius was a polio survivor then his mental faculties were left unimpaired by the disease.

The resulting damage, known as polio-encephalitis is 'associated with drowsiness, prolonged sleeping, attention deficits – sometimes even coma – whether or not there was poliomyelitis or any muscle paralysis'.⁷⁷ These factors are associated with Claudius, especially in the letters of Augustus, or the comment about being beaten, in Suetonius, but the importance is that the sources could allow for a specific time when Claudius lived with the consequences of the initial polio attack; but the polio fever symptoms are only relevant for a short time. The clinical association may account for a serious childhood illness, but it does not really seem appropriate for Augustus' deliberations where Claudius' condition is temporary and should be attributed to another disorder, possibly dysfluency and the avoidance strategies of a stutterer.

⁷⁴ The severe damage resulting from Bulbar Polio, makes breathing impossible without mechanical help, Bruno (2003) p.35-6; for Iron Lung see p63-4; J.R. Bach, 'Evaluation and Management of Post-Polio Respiratory Sequelae: Non-invasive Options', 1995, p.89-90,97; respiratory problems J.K.Silver *Post-polio syndrome : a guide for polio survivors and their families*, 2001 p.83-90.

⁷⁵ The poliovirus also attacks the basal ganglia, and the neurons that produce the neurotransmitter dopamine which carries information to the basal ganglia – the result is a corruption or a break of the information needed to initiate or end muscle movements, Bruno p.36; also the brainstem controls cardiovascular, respiratory and digestive functions, regulates muscle reflexes in posture and equilibrium, receives and integrates transmissions from the spinal cord, plus controls sleep centres – L. Sherwood, *Human Physiology, from cells to systems*, 2001, p134 table 5-3, and p144 for inhibition role of basal ganglia. Difficulties with the transfer of information from and to the brainstem have consequences for the polio survivor.

⁷⁶ D.J. Bodian in Bruno (2003) p.37.

⁷⁷ Bruno (2003) p37; the virus attacks the basal ganglia, dopamine production and destroys neurons in the hypothalamus simultaneously, as well as the thalamus which is 'a control relay station that directs information to the cortex' (Bruno p37); the information stream concerning muscle control and movement is totally disrupted.

There would be an extensive diversion for the chapter if this analysis tackled the enormously complex subject of the symptoms and psychological impact of stuttering, but this area should be considered for further investigation concerning Claudius.

The evidence for polio and survivors is mainly from the 20th century, and it is difficult to apply fully to Claudius except for the clinical aspects and some of the more general points – time and cultural differences and attitudes towards an illness that was a feared epidemic in the 20th century, but would have been a sporadic illness in the 1st century AD.⁷⁸ Although impossible to project onto Claudius because of the differing nature of the onset of polio, and the cultural reaction, some of the 20th century insults are worth considering in terms of these phrases, which reflect the fear of the community during an epidemic:

‘ Ugly, lazy, hateful, dumb, peg-leg, iron legs, little foot, gimp, cripple, limpy, gimp, slow poke, clumsy, klutz, retarded reject, worthless, useless, bone-arm...Polio boy’.⁷⁹

These reflect the paranoia of a community, but also the isolation of a polio sufferer, especially before the advent of the Salk polio vaccine in 1955.⁸⁰

Without wishing to explore Roman moral values in any depth it is still worth considering the plight of polio patients within a domestic environment. The parents of families in the 1950s, and the patients themselves suffered anxiety and guilt for what had happened and the consequences could take the form of emotional, physical or sexual abuse.⁸¹ Antonia’s anger at Claudius would not be out of place in the 1950’s, and the physical abuse he suffered at the hands of his pedagogue/tutor

⁷⁸ For recollections of polio patients, and the descriptions of the long recovery period and terrifying nature of polio see Bruno (2003) p60-80; Silver p21-26; Mary T. Westbrook, *Early Memories of having Polio: Survivors’ Memories Versus the Official Myths*, 1996.

⁷⁹ Bruno (2003) p.84.

⁸⁰ For a history of the polio vaccine of Sabin and Salk see E.Bollenbach, *The Polio War and Vaccine Strategy*, <http://www.ott.zynet.co.uk/polio/lincolnshire/library/bollenbach/biology6.html> 3/01/05.

⁸¹ Bruno (2003) p.89; for many detailed and harrowing accounts of physical abuse on polio children, see p.86-9. For similar feelings of anxiety and guilt of parents that can be projected on to children who stuttered see discussion of the main research on parents’ behaviour since 1952, T.J. Peters, B.Guitar, *Stuttering, an Integrated Approach to its Nature and Treatment*, 1991 p.53-5. G.F.Johnson, M. Johnson, *Signals: For Parents of Children Who Stutter*, 9/01/05. For feelings of shame, guilt and especially anger felt by a stutterer, see Peters & Guitar table 4.7 p104, 218-9. There is not enough space to explore the factors around stuttering, and it should be included in further work on Claudius’ stutter.

mirrors that of families beating children to conform and overcome their disability.⁸² The time Claudius spent with Antonia and with Livia implies that it was over a relatively long period, longer than would be expected, hence the comment in Suetonius. Merely mentioning visits to his mother hardly seem worth recording in the sources, but the report may in fact document the long recovery period after the initial polio attack. There are reports of polio children who were unwilling to bow to abuse to conform and hide or overcome their disability, ‘one alternative to acceptance was internal exile or imprisonment’,⁸³ where the assistance required by a polio survivor, still a child, was inconsistent⁸⁴ or withheld – this is not to suggest that Claudius was forcibly imprisoned, but he may have been bedridden for long periods.⁸⁵

6.1b Claudius and the warning signs of polio

The identification of symptoms appropriate to polio in the sources is a review of some previous discussion to allow for gathering the evidence before setting off to examine PPS. There is a discussion on the research into resultant personality types having contracted the disease. While never an exact science to look back in time, the general characteristics are useful in identifying similarities between Claudius and polio survivors. This section will not degenerate into a psychological profile of Claudius but it will highlight the areas that warrant some reflection. It is important that the diagnosis of polio is as certain as possible for the next stage of the investigation. Symptoms of saliva, nasal discharge, somnolence and the movement of

⁸² Bruno (2003) p.87.

⁸³ Bruno (2003) p.88.

⁸⁴ Probably through a lack of therapeutic knowledge, and not necessarily because of anger-motivated deprivation of nursing towards a sick child.

⁸⁵ ‘For almost two years after I got out of hospital, I lived in an upstairs room of the house’ a polio survivor in Bruno (2003) p.88, although the context here is one of confinement to the house, it is the period of severe disability that is of interest. ‘My mother constantly demanded that I would be ‘normal’. I was an embarrassment to her and her family; I was the “odd note”. My disabilities were covered up and I was always supposed to be better than everyone else’, a polio survivor in Bruno (2003) p.89. There may be similar sentiments in Antonia’s and the imperial family’s attitude towards Claudius, but one would hesitate to suggest that they were the same.

mucus in the throat could bear a resemblance to Claudius,⁸⁶ but the difficulty of placing the reports in a chronological frame do not help here. The deglutition problems connected to respiratory disturbances may be similar to Eden's explanation of *et ille quidem animam ebulliit*.⁸⁷ The saliva, sleepiness, the speechlessness and stupor Claudius suffered after the alleged poisoning⁸⁸ also fit bulbar polio, but only whilst he would be suffering from the chronic stage of the illness. Either death or recovery would follow, which leads to a question whether the reports are of Claudius while he was ill? Although polio can strike at any age, the seriousness of the disease would leave him unable to perform his duties during the acute phase; the depiction of an atrophied leg on coins points to the disease being present at an earlier time in his life. There would be little time for the leg to become a recognised icon or identifier of Claudius if the illness was towards the end of his life because the symptoms of disease would be in that circumstance present for a few weeks, even shorter for bulbar polio, barely long enough to cement what are seen as characteristics recognisable as Claudius.

The peculiar gait of Claudius is not addressed by a diagnosis of bulbar polio; the coins from Ephesus portray Claudius standing with the weight on the weaker side right leg, which implies a difference in length, but it is may be due to artistic problems of reproduction of the image by the engravers.⁸⁹ The possibility of depicting an atrophied right leg with a difference in length from the left should not be dismissed lightly. Disparity in leg length is inconclusive, but account should be taken of the peculiarity of Claudius' gait, where differences in limb length may play a part in dragging the right leg.⁹⁰ The atrophied leg is raised on the coin from Amphipolis, so there is no weight on it, and the image provides no indication of leg length. The numismatic image of the weakened right leg alone is insufficient for diagnostic purposes, therefore further investigation is necessary to identify whether Claudius suffered an initial illness, one from which there was some degree of recovery.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Juv.*Sat.*6.620-24; Suet.*Claud.*XXX; Sen *Apoc.*4.2.

⁸⁷ Sen.*Apoc.*4.2, see Eden p.80 note 5.

⁸⁸ Suet.*Claud.*XLIV.

⁸⁹ See Woodward (1956) p.154 n5 for artistic variations in the iconography of cistophoric series.

⁹⁰ For practical clinical gait analysis with video analysis, see <http://guardian.curtin.edu.au/cga/>, and <http://sprojects.mmi.mcgill.ca/gait/default.html>, 4/01/05.

⁹¹ The chance that Claudius contracted polio later in life, similar to Franklin D.Roosevelt, where the possibility of severe paralysis is high, is reduced by Suetonius' claim in *Claud.*XXXI that Claudius' health improved after accession; this will be discussed later.

Cold intolerance connected to polio may be a factor in Claudius being wrapped up as a youth,⁹² and the ceremony of receiving the *toga virilis* may have been conducted at night⁹³ possibly as a result of the polio infection itself, or during the recovery period. Cold intolerance will be discussed later. If the disease was the more common spinal form and ran its course, then Claudius may have been left with some degree of asymmetrical paralysis, and muscle atrophy in the affected limbs; it is feasible that a degree of recovery was possible in the weakened and affected muscles.⁹⁴ It would be during this period that any 'shortening' of the affected leg would occur.⁹⁵

An examination of the factors that become apparent for polio sufferers 20-40 years after the initial infection may help to provide an explanation for the symptomatic evidence in the sources, and this will be discussed after a survey of other disorders where the symptoms are similar, and of individual symptoms where a differential diagnosis is necessary.

Muscle Atrophy can be a later sign of PPS, and will be discussed further in the chapter, but the descriptions of Claudius' gait do not sit readily with medical classification. Of the designated gait disorders, most can be discounted because of their exceptional characteristics.⁹⁶

⁹² Suet.*Claud.II*.

⁹³ Suet.*Claud.II*.

⁹⁴ For discussion on muscle weakness see later sections.

⁹⁵ See <http://www.gpnotebook.co.uk/cache/-1241120749.htm> 5/01/05; also for orthopaedic disorders see D. Kidd, R.S. Howard, A.J. Williams, F.W. Heatley, C.P. Panayiotopoulos and G.T. Spencer, 'Late functional deterioration following paralytic poliomyelitis', 1997 p.189-196.

⁹⁶ Types of gait are Cerebellar, Sensory Ataxic, Hemiplegic/Paraplegic, Festinating, Equine, Waddling, Toppling, Normal Pressure Hydrocephalus, Frontal Lobe Disorder, Choreaathetoid/Dystonic, and Hysterical, D.Lasserson, C. Gabriel, B. Sharrack, *Nervous System and Special Senses*, 1998, p.142-4; Also see Merritt's p.51-6; Adams, Victor & Ropper (1997) Ch.7; 'A normal gait requires input from the motor, sensory, cerebellar and vestibular systems' Lasserson, Gabriel & Sharrack p.142 and a Romberg's test, where a patients stability is tested by asking them to stand feet together and to shut their eyes – cerebellar or vestibular lesions or ataxia will cause unsteadiness when their eyes are closed because of sensory loss, Lasserson, Gabriel & Sharrack p.144. There is no clear evidence of sensory loss in the sources on Claudius, and hearing problems should be examined alongside further research on stuttering. See Appendix 4.1 for a discussion of the symptoms and categories of gait disorders.

If one accepts that Claudius suffered disabilities that were connected to polio, then the psychological studies of Bruno concerning polio survivors and PPS patients are relevant in providing additional evidence for Claudius' condition:

'Polio survivors were obviously unique, not only among individuals who had disabilities of equal severity, but also among their non-disabled peers of similar age. It appeared that our patients shared a personality type that had first been described among those at risk for heart disease: the hard-driving, time-conscious, competitive, self-denying perfectionist, overachieving 'Type A' personality. We were not surprised when our 1985 survey found that polio survivors reported 50% more Type A behaviour than did non-disabled individuals'⁹⁷

The idea that as polio children could not compete physically they would excel academically in a bid to be 'normal' is borne out by Bruno's findings, but he discovered that not only was physical exertion a trigger for PPS but that emotional stress was the second most common trigger, and that the Type A lifestyle and attempt to be normal caused the next progression:

'Low self-esteem, loss of control and lack of social support are all thought to promote Type A behaviours, which are believed to protect against punishment in individuals who are constantly struggling to overcome physical barriers and opposition by others'.⁹⁸

One could work through this statement and apply each factor to the evidence about Claudius, where there is definite opposition from Augustus, Livia and Tiberius to the political career expected of an aristocrat and Claudius is vocal in his complaints about abusive treatment at the hands of his pedagogue. Another factor is that protecting themselves from criticism and failure is more important to polio survivors

⁹⁷ Bruno (2003) p.99; following surveys bore similar results, a total of 3,000 individuals reported 30% more Type A behaviour on average than adults of the same age, with no higher rates of heart disease in polio survivors than others, (Bruno p.99-100); for a discussion of problems of methodology, the problems surrounding terminology of Type A behaviours in Bruno & Frick's study see J.M. Liechty 'Psychosocial Issues and Post Polio', 1995 see p.182-84.

⁹⁸ Bruno (2003) p.100.

than their own emotional or physical well-being.⁹⁹ The efforts made by Claudius to be normal as *princeps* (as possible?) are only really seen by what he did not do, and the 'taking care of others' is too large a question to tackle in this chapter as regards the bearing on the principate; the plans to widen the franchise set out in the Lyon speech for example, may be affected by this way of thinking, even though it provoked criticism from the senate, and this warrants further examination.

Many polio patients report the desire 'to be better than everyone else just to breakeven'.¹⁰⁰ This may imply that they want to be superior but really it is the desire to be an *equal* to others that is stronger. 'Type A polio survivors have lived lives of constant vigilance and anxiety using highly developed 'radar' to continuously monitor others' needs and their own performance in an effort to survive, and in the hope of being accepted'.¹⁰¹ On an emotional level, the desire to be accepted as 'normal' in polio survivors is similar to that for stutterers. Both want to reduce the isolation or alienation, and have to combat the emotional feelings of anger, guilt, embarrassment, and shame, feelings that are created by a personal reaction to their condition. The representation of Claudius on the Praetorian coins may be a case in point; if Claudius wanted to be superior, and to be seen as superior, he would **not** be on a groundline in the image, he would **not** be the same height as the Praetorian guardsman.¹⁰²

The suggestion that PPS is a social disease 'created by polio survivors' in response to the expectations, demands, prejudices, and abuses of the society in which they grew

⁹⁹ 'For most polio survivors, it's more important to appear normal and take care of others to protect themselves against criticism and failure than it is to physically and emotionally care for themselves' (Bruno(2003) p.101).

¹⁰⁰ Bruno (2003) p.101.

¹⁰¹ Bruno (2003) p.102; Bruno suggests that Type A behaviour may not make polio survivors feel 'normal' but may increase loneliness because of the constant activity which prevents social interaction therefore promoting more Type A behaviour – for Claudius this is difficult to assess especially as he seems to have had some form of social interaction that Augustus did not approve of, and the respect shown to him by the *equites* and the senate must have come about through some form of contact; he is reported at dinners under Gaius, and his own principate which are social occasions. As *princeps* the amount of social contact would be controlled by the *princeps*, not the other way around. The loneliness found in polio children is because of long-term hospitalisation and separation from parents or the outside world (Bruno p.102-4), which may apply to Claudius' childhood illnesses in the form of a long recovery period.

¹⁰² See Figs.2.3-4.

up',¹⁰³ can only apply if one can identify other polio survivors in 1st century Rome and examine how they were treated; there are similarities in how Claudius was ridiculed and did not meet the demands expected by the imperial family. Even Gaius' throwing Claudius in the river,¹⁰⁴ could be interpreted as physical abuse therefore one questions what would have happened if Claudius had been able-bodied, or whether it would have happened to anyone else? If one keeps to the evidence in the sources without projecting the experiences of 20th century survivors upon the definition then a separate case could be made for PPS being a social disease of 1st century Rome.¹⁰⁵ The 'type E' personalities' need to help other people presents difficulties because it is questionable whether one can identify the motives for Claudius legislation to free slaves who had been ill, and whether there was an express need to help others.¹⁰⁶ The problem regarding Claudius may be resolved by stating that not all polio survivors care the same about others, that there is not an identikit behaviour pattern for all events except for the desire to be 'normal' which is shaped by society and by each individual. The goal and how it is achieved is a personal pattern within the parameters of being a polio survivor. Claudius' behaviour, his desires and motives are therefore unique, and especially so because of his environment, within the world of the imperial family, which will change again once he becomes *princeps*. The psychological issues connected to polio and PPS are hard to determine for Claudius with any certainty, except to say that he demonstrates some characteristics concurrent with other polio survivors.

¹⁰³ Bruno(2003) p.104.

¹⁰⁴ Suet.*Claud.*IX.1; *Gaius*.XVII, XLIX.1-2.

¹⁰⁵ There is a difficulty in identifying Type E behaviour, which is defined as meeting the needs of everyone except themselves and experiencing anxiety of being so sensitive to criticism, whilst thinking they had failed (Bruno p.106); Type E behaviour is part of the psychological sequelae of polio and PPS.

¹⁰⁶ Suet.*Claud.*XXV.2, where sick slaves who were hard to treat, were exposed on the island of Aesculapius; if they recovered they were free men, and if a master tries to kill a sick slave he was liable to be charged with murder. This demonstrates *humanitas* on Claudius' part.

6.2. Post Polio Syndrome

Having established that Claudius had contracted acute poliomyelitis in childhood, the next stage is to consider the long-term effects of the disease. What happens after several decades to the muscles of those survivors who had polio as children? This final section of the thesis is the culmination of all the previous chapters which have enabled the hypothesis to be tested here that Claudius had late onset symptoms of polio and not those of any other disease, neurological or otherwise. This section will analyse the evidence for each major symptom of post polio such as fatigue or dysphagia, and balance each symptom listed below with the evidence gleaned from the sources about Claudius.

Polio survivors in the 1970s and 1980s began to report symptoms that were similar to those they experienced at the onset of polio on childhood – these symptoms encompassed a characteristic set of symptoms, or post-polio sequelae,¹⁰⁷ commonly known as post-polio syndrome (PPS). The appearance of new symptoms in polio survivors after many years of stability in their muscle strength, some 15-20 years after,¹⁰⁸ takes the form of weakness in either an affected or unaffected limb producing disability for the second time. If Claudius did have childhood polio, and was therefore a polio survivor, then he may present similar symptoms to those diagnosed with PPS; this chapter will examine this hypothesis.

6.2a How to spot PPS

PPS has multifactorial elements that affect those areas damaged by the poliovirus, and there is the overuse of muscles and nerves that have had to work with fewer resources than they should have.¹⁰⁹ A note of caution should be introduced at this point, as not everyone who has polio has subsequent medical problems that are

¹⁰⁷ Silver (2001) p.12-13; for a discussion of terminology and the assumption of the misnomer of 'post polio syndrome' which has been adopted, see Bruno (2003) p.113-15. This section on post-polio has been structured using the outline in Gawne & Halstead, and Jubelt & Drucker because it seemed logical to follow their sequence of tackling each subject.

¹⁰⁸ Silver (2001) p.14.

¹⁰⁹ Silver (2001) p.15.

related to PPS, and that not everyone has the same combination of symptoms found within those who have PPS.¹¹⁰ The symptoms consistent with PPS diagnosis are:¹¹¹

- New weakness
- Unaccustomed fatigue
- Muscular pain
- New swallowing problems
- New respiratory problems
- Cold intolerance
- New muscle atrophy

Part of the argument has been to remedy the problem of chronology in *Claud.*XXX-XXXI, and having determined how they should be read, the evidence that there was a plateau, a substantial period of benign health, means that the descriptions in Seneca and Suetonius are of the later symptoms. If they are applicable, these are what would be classed as new symptoms of weakness, pain, atrophy, respiratory and swallowing problems. In the following sections, it will be assumed in most circumstances these are new symptoms, except for the atrophied right leg. In addition 'it is imperative to understand that PPS is a diagnosis of exclusion'¹¹² where a PPS diagnosis is confirmed only after other possible diagnoses of the symptoms have been ruled out. Once the initial stage of elimination has been achieved, the symptoms must still meet the criteria set out for PPS.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ A.J. Windebank, 'Differential Diagnosis and Prognosis in Post Polio Syndrome', 1995, see p.69, 72-77; Silver (2001) p.17; Bruno (2003) p.113-14; for diagnosis by exclusion see A.C.Gawne, L.S. Halstead, 'Post-Polio Syndrome: Pathophysiology and Clinical Management', 1995 p.147-188, online see ch.X.B and differential diagnosis at XI.1.

¹¹¹ Silver (2001) p.17; Gawne & Halstead (1995) VI.Table 2 and *passim*, Jubelt & Drucker (1993).

¹¹² Silver (2001) p.17; it is impractical to test for all illnesses which might have caused the symptoms, but alternatives should be considered and excluded by where possible carrying out a specific test for that disease, (Silver p.17-18); It is not possible to carry out any testing for this examination of Claudius' symptoms, nor undertaking any physical examination of the patient which is usual in helping to confirm PPS. The discussion within this chapter, of diseases with similar symptoms to PPS, has carried out a similar regime of consideration of the alternatives, and by use of the sources where appropriate, instead of a physical examination, has allowed a diagnosis that has a reasonable foundation.

¹¹³ Silver (2001) p.18; electromyography (EMG) tests electrical activity in muscle fibres to diagnose muscle disorders, or recovery from paralysis. (Oxford Medical Dictionary p208), Silver argues that the tests are uncomfortable and expensive, but they can detect nerve or muscle problems not related to the initial polio attack.

- The patient must have a known history of polio – evidence provided by EMG is recommended.
- The patient must have had some improvement in strength after the initial paralysis.
- There must have been a period of stability at least one or two decades, where no new symptoms present themselves.
- The patient must present with new symptoms that are consistent with PPS and not attributable to another disease.

These criteria are not finite because patients who had ‘non-paralytic polio’¹¹⁴ have been diagnosed with PPS, and even those with undiagnosed polio in childhood may be susceptible to PPS.¹¹⁵ It seems plausible that Claudius did have childhood polio because the symptoms of polio survivors are recorded in, or at least implied, by the sources as reviewed in chapter 4 and ‘excluded’ from chapter 5.¹¹⁶

The difficulty with using the sources for diagnostic purposes is that there is no definitive report of all the symptoms of PPS in a single source. Therefore a reconstruction of the components of PPS from separate incidents, some of which will be non-specific is necessary. An understanding of how PPS develops pathologically is required to interpret the source material available.

¹¹⁴ For discussion of non-paralytic polio see Silver (2001) ch.3; in Bruno (2003) p.276-83, 291-4; the non-paralytic label is a misnomer as the Summer Plague or Summer Grippe is caused by the mild type II Lansing poliovirus. The type II blocks the more virulent type I Brunhilde poliovirus (p.281). It is the location of the poliovirus attacks that denotes whether it is paralytic or non-paralytic polio where neurons are attacked in the brain or brainstem rather than the spinal cord. The 1947 epidemic of summer Plague in Cincinnati, where children had flu-like symptoms but no paralysis. The virus attacks on the brain results in greater fatigue rather than muscle weakness. Another similar virus was originally diagnosed abortive polio, with similar flu symptoms and long-lasting and severe fatigue, but no breathing problems, and very rare paralysis resulted in the identification of Myalgic encephalomyelitis (ME), (p.283).

¹¹⁵ Silver (2001) p.18.

¹¹⁶ For further discussion of problems of diagnosis, symptoms, tests to determine prior polio infections and epidemiology of the enterovirus causing similar symptoms to ‘non-paralytic polio’, see M. Falconer, E. Bollenbach, *Non-Paralytic Polio and PPS*, Lincolnshire Post-Polio Library Publications, Lincoln 1999.

6.2b Testing Testing 1-2-3...

This section is about muscle weakness as a long-term consequence of polio. Although it is an important factor, in this case one cannot test muscle strength or muscle structure for Claudius,¹¹⁷ one can hypothesise that as it is the case for over 80% of polio survivors that they reported muscle weakness in muscles previously affected during the original polio episode,¹¹⁸ it is likely that if Claudius did have polio as a child he would eventually suffer late-onset muscle weakness.¹¹⁹ The lack of an EMG as part of the diagnosis of exclusion, cannot confirm that motor neurons are dying or decaying, but even in the 21st century an EMG requires specialised techniques where the results can take a year to produce a diagnosis.¹²⁰ If Claudius was a polio survivor, and he experienced new muscle weakness which would parallel most other polio survivors, one would expect PPS; Bruno explains the diagnosis between polio, muscle weakness and probable PPS using the medical adage 'if you hear hoofbeats, expect horses, not zebras'.¹²¹ If a polio survivor experiences muscle weakness then the medical team should, taking account of the medical history, look for PPS in the first instance and not for an alternative devastating neurological disorder.

¹¹⁷ G. Grimby, E. Stålberg, 'Muscle function in late Polio', 1995 p.15-24; A.McComas' studies on muscle weakness produced results showing neurons were dying; the first study on polio survivors produced the same results as Bodian, that muscle affected by polio lost 60% of motor neurons and the muscle *not* affected by polio lost 40%, cited by Bruno p118; also see Jubelt & Drucker (1993), Gawne & Halstead (1995); for muscle changes after polio see K. Borg, L. Edström, 'Muscle Fiber Morphology in Post Polio patients', 1995 p.25-33; J. Perry, J.D. Fontaine, S. Mulroy, P.T. Downey, 'Findings in Post-Poliomyelitis Syndrome', 1995 p. 1148-1153, These teams examine and identify the overuse of muscles and alterations in the mechanics of gait in patients with muscular dysfunction; the mechanisms of substitution of muscles to replace weak calf muscles were studied and most patients used more than one method of substitution which increased the demand placed on joints, ligaments and muscles, 'there may be no conspicuous indication of any weakness of the calf muscles because of subtle substitution and a mild contractive' Perry *et al*, so for many years any dysfunction and weakness would not be noticeable; for polio survivors and for Claudius this would be relevant for unaffected muscles, the leg which did not have a gait dysfunction.

¹¹⁸ Bruno (2003) p.117-18.

¹¹⁹ Late muscle weakness is reported in 87-95% of polio patients with new weakness, Jubelt & Drucker table 2 Lincoln; 'New slowly progressive muscle weakness is the most important neurological problem occurring in most affected patients', Jubelt & Drucker plus notes 90, 91, 103.

¹²⁰ Bruno (2003) p.129; for difficulties surrounding EMG and Nerve Conduction Studies (NCS) on polio survivors see Silver (2001) p.38-43.

¹²¹ Bruno (2003) p.129.

A study of patients in their mid-fifties showed that the 80% who reported a loss of strength lost 14% of their remaining motor neurons during the two years of the study, when normally they should have lost none at that age – the significance is that motor neurons die over time.¹²² The overuse of weakened muscles where motor neurons are operating approximately sixteen times more muscle fibres (which are now double the size) than before, than someone with no history of polio, causes long-term problems.¹²³ The result is an atrophied and weaker limb, but for Claudius there is no way of knowing whether the condition was late-onset or was an initially paralysed limb where there was little recovery of muscle strength, or a combination of both factors in PPS.

After physical overexertion/exercise, or experiencing cold temperatures, stress is reported as a significant factor for triggering muscle weakness;¹²⁴ stress can take the form of a trauma such as illness, injury or surgery, and many polio survivors had falls or accidents where 75% of the reported injuries were to a leg.¹²⁵ The only record of an accident for Claudius is the incident at the river with Gaius, and any beatings subjected to in childhood could be termed as a trauma; even the report in Josephus where Claudius falls to his knees may have been a collapse serious enough to cause an injury, although all these incidents have little real detail and no consequence is attributed to them. A reason for there being no report of injury is that it is common for polio survivors to compensate for an injury on one leg by overworking the corresponding one;¹²⁶ therefore if Claudius had suffered any injury the result would probably not be noticeable to observers.

¹²² Bruno (2003) p.119.

¹²³ Bruno (2003) p.119; because of axon sprouting to repair previous damage from poliovirus, the number of fibres switched on by a single post-polio motor neuron increases by 14% per year, and as ageing motor neurons sprout thinner and non-myelinated axons they connect to less muscle fibres with the probability of signal disruption; therefore less transmitters reach the muscles in question, and the fibres will then reduce (atrophy); 'a loss of muscle size and strength, reduce muscle contraction speed and decrease muscle endurance' Bruno (2003) p.120. The result is thinner muscle tissue, and the likelihood of gait dysfunction due to incomplete neural transmissions to the remaining muscle. This condition may be what is portrayed on the coins of Claudius from Ephesus.

¹²⁴ Bruno (2003) p.133; A trauma does not trigger PPS, but the new symptoms of muscle weakness appear in 70% of patients, and 25% had symptoms in the injured area plus another symptom/injured area close by.

¹²⁵ Bruno (2003) p.133.

¹²⁶ Bruno (2003) p.134.

6.2c An Emotional Response

The assessment of the emotional stress of polio survivors may be difficult to measure, and it is even more difficult to assess the effect on Claudius from the sources. Even though it might present methodological problems, it is worth pursuing this because of the facility to compare Claudius to other polio survivors. However the results of stress are evident in one study: 'even without physical injury, illness or surgery, our 1985 survey found that emotional stress alone is the second leading trigger of PPS'¹²⁷ and emotional stress can cause muscle weakness, pain or fatigue in polio survivors,¹²⁸ probably because the damaged motor neurons are affected. A case study that demonstrates this follows:

'The meeting turned contentious, with angry accusations being hurled back and forth and blame passed around and around. After three hours the meeting broke up. I went to stand and my legs wouldn't hold me! I fell back into the chair. They had to bring me lunch and it took an hour before I could walk back to my office'.¹²⁹

The hours after the assassination of Gaius were emotionally charged, and the sources report Claudius' fear and anxiety, but it is the description of Claudius' knees giving way that may be significant, where the extreme emotional stress triggers (muscle) weakness in muscles already affected by polio. The line in Josephus where Claudius' knees buckle would therefore be plausible,¹³⁰ and may well be accurate; if the latter were the case then it would be because of an eyewitness account used by Josephus. The proposal relies on the hypothesis that there is a relationship between emotional stress and some post-polio symptoms, and as such caution is necessary as Liechty states on Bruno & Frick 1991, 'they make the argument that emotional stress can induce post-polio fatigue and muscle weakness. These hypotheses require further

¹²⁷ Bruno (2003) p.134, who proposes that the weakened muscles when placed under stress cease to receive motor commands.

¹²⁸ For a review of psychosocial studies concerning the behaviour associated with the symptoms of post polio see Liechty (1995) p.177-92, Gawne & Halstead (1995) F.2 give example of how do survivors cope with facing a second disability? Coping behaviour that was successful in the initial phase can re-emerge. D.L. Freidenberg, D. Freeman, S. J. Huber, J. Perry, A. Fischer, W. G. Van Gorp and J. L. Cummings 'Postpoliomyelitis Syndrome: Assessment of Behavioral Features', 1989 pp.272-281 discuss mood disturbances and cognitive complaints in PPS, and conclude their 'results suggest that PPS is not consistently associated with specific cognitive or personality disturbances'.

¹²⁹ Polio survivor cited in Bruno (2003) p.135.

¹³⁰ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.220-1.

careful study'.¹³¹ This may open a new area for consideration regarding Claudius, which parts of the accession account in Josephus may be based on a 'reliable' eyewitness account – either from Gratus or one of those who had assembled to carry Claudius out of the palace. Either Josephus mentions that Claudius was not able to walk at that moment because it was an abnormal occurrence, or it is a report of an ongoing condition. If it is the latter a serious gait failure or disorder might have been mentioned when Claudius left the theatre earlier, which would throw the focus on to the former, which was something out of the ordinary. It is significant there is no mention of falling over, or fainting at the precise moment of extreme emotions amongst all the participants in the highly charged scene. This is not to say that all the account is accurate or unembellished, but at least part of the account may be true.

Suetonius writes that Claudius fell to his knees, pleading for his life through fear,¹³² but if the above discussion is feasible then he might be manipulating his source, or the account was by someone who heard events from an eye-witness or even relayed through a second-hand source; either way the explanation that Claudius' knees stopped working is omitted. In Josephus, Claudius' knees would not allow him to walk, and in Suetonius they would not hold Claudius up; the fact remains that Suetonius' source may well be the same as Josephus' because if one looks at the mechanics then Claudius' knees could well have given way due to muscle fatigue as a result of emotional reaction. Therefore it would not be initially through fear, as expressed in the sources as a characteristic for Claudius, where he would be on his knees pleading for his life. Both scenarios are basically the same, and it could be the result of post-polio fatigue and muscle weakness, or if Bruno is correct it could be one of the triggers for Claudius to suffer from PPS. Suetonius presents a dramatic scene, of a weak man in fear of his life, but he uses basically the same information on dysfunction as Josephus but presented from a different camera angle; or Suetonius misinterpreted the sources' account regarding Claudius' reaction to Gratus and the *Germani*. In addition, it is very difficult to attribute a clinical picture based exclusively on such slim evidence, but it may work and have value as part of whole series of symptomatic evidence for PPS.

¹³¹ Liechty 1995) p.190 and ref.4.

¹³² Suet.*Claud.*X.2.

6.2d Atrophy & Muscle Weakness

The iconography of coins from the east has produced evidence of muscle atrophy on the right leg; therefore a section on the result of muscle weakness is required to examine the possibilities of Claudius' gait. The identification of the gait might help in a diagnosis of PPS. Muscle weakness can be resisted by controlled exercise, but excess exercise can cause further muscle weakness.¹³³ There is no evidence that Claudius followed an exercise regime, but his increased duties and travelling may be considered as an increase in muscle use. The exercise prescribed for post-polio patients is 'non-fatiguing' to prevent decreasing muscle strength,¹³⁴ and the office of *princeps* requires more physical effort than the sedentary pursuit of scholarship, so the problem of muscle fatigue may be relevant. As part of managing PPS the idea is to rest and conserve energy, 'don't stand when you can sit, and don't sit when you can lie down'.¹³⁵ This maxim could have been applied by Claudius, albeit without the knowledge of PPS rehabilitation procedures, because of the references to sitting down and having to stand up to make a point or gesture (although these may be references to respect and proper behaviour), and Suetonius *Claud.*XXX makes a point of mentioning how Claudius looks when lying down (even though this may refer to banquets or meals); in part at least, even though Claudius was not 'managing PPS' he was following a pattern that in part causes less fatigue and conserves energy.

Suetonius gives a description of Claudius' imposing physical stature, which is a direct contrast to his ungainly mobility, and the common factor in polio survivors is

¹³³ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.A.2, who review research controversies, and provide an explanation of the 'new limb-specific muscle classification system called the National Rehabilitation Hospital (NRH) Post Polio Limb Classification' see table 7 and refs 41,113 where a physical examination using an EMG assesses muscle weakness. There is an ascending order of groups, from Class I No Clinical polio, Class II Subclinical polio, Class III Clinically Stable Polio where there is no new weakness, Class IV Clinical Unstable Polio where there is new weakness and sometimes atrophy with decreased reflexes, Class V Severely atrophic Polio where there is severe weakness and little improvement, new weakness may be present; Claudius would fit the patterns outlined in Class IV or V; Bruno (2003) p136-40; Silver (2001) p.103-4,113-5; Jubelt & Drucker (1993).

¹³⁴ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.A.2; Bruno (2003) p.138, 140; Exercise regime described in Silver p.101-121, and Energy Conservation, and using specific techniques to manage the patient's energy use, p.122-139.

¹³⁵ Bruno (2003) p.262.

muscle imbalance which may help to explain the difference. For a third of polio survivors, muscle imbalance in the spine causes scoliosis, where the weak side cannot keep the spine straight, which causes it to be pulled towards the opposite stronger side – the result is that the body will bend in the opposite direction to the stronger muscles. ‘So people with a curve to the right will constantly use their left back, hip and neck muscles to pull themselves to the left so that they appear straight’.¹³⁶ It is this bracing effect that causes pain. The muscle bracing is a possible scenario for Claudius.

Atrophy in an upper leg and buttock results in these features being physically smaller than the other side, so the upper body would tilt towards the atrophied side when seated if the patient did not brace the muscles on the opposite side to appear upright.¹³⁷ ‘Bracing’ allows for Claudius’ *auctoritas dignitasque formae non defuit ei, verum stanti vel sedeti ac praecipui quiescenti*, ‘he possessed majesty and dignity of appearance, but only when he was standing still or sitting, and especially when he was lying down’.¹³⁸ Moreover, ‘substitution’ of stronger muscles for weaker ones would have allowed him to walk.¹³⁹ Suetonius states *ceterum et ingredientem destituebant poplites minus firmi*, ‘but when he walked, his weak knees gave way under him’,¹⁴⁰ and this may resemble recurvation, where a quadriceps muscle weakness means a polio survivor uses buttock muscles to pull the upper leg backwards to lock the knee, and where the knee joint does actually bend backwards – this may be what Suetonius is referring to when he describes *poplites minus firme*,¹⁴¹ referring to weak knees or ones that were unsteady. Evans links Suetonius’

¹³⁶ Bruno (2003) p.148.

¹³⁷ Bruno (2003) p.148, and the muscle pain is usually caused by muscle spasms as the muscles remain contracted to retain postural control.

¹³⁸ Suet.*Claud.*XXX, trans. Rolfe.

¹³⁹ The work of J.Perry found ‘that polio survivors compensate for lower leg muscle weakness by substituting and overusing their upper leg and hip muscles to lift their upper leg and allow their foot to clear the ground, which causes hip and lower back pain’ Bruno p.148-9. The relevance for Claudius, is that even though he did not complain of pain it would, in addition to the muscle weakness, affect his form of motion; any pain makes one reluctant to use something.

¹⁴⁰ Suet.*Claud.*XXX, trans. Rolfe.

¹⁴¹ Suet.*Claud.*XXX; E.C. Evans ‘Roman Descriptions of Personal Appearance’, 1935 p.43-84, p.78 states this as one of the pieces of evidence demonstrating the influence of physiognomics on Suetonius, Evans cites *Pseud-Arist* 813A; *Polemon* 204; *Adamant* 358; *Anon. Physiog.* Lat II,89.

description to physiognomic elements about connecting movement to character, but in this case the theory does not transfer easily.¹⁴²

Precise interpretation is difficult because of the two different gait descriptions, one of dragging a right leg, the other that weak knees gave way. Foot drop could explain the former and recurvation plus new muscle weakness the latter, although it depends really on how one interprets dragging a leg. In addition the constant overuse of muscles in the left leg may have caused it to finally buckle under the pressure and be subject to additional muscle weakness that can be found in the weakened non-polio muscles. Alternatively it is perfectly possible for the movement from the upper right leg in recurvation to be seen as dragging the lower leg through to make the next step. This would also give the unequal steps in *Apocolocyntosis*, which although a literary allusion, could be rooted in fact. The desire to include a physiognomical reference by Suetonius, may outweigh the accuracy of his description of Claudius' gait, but that he had some form of gait disorder does not seem to be in doubt in the sources – the difference between Seneca's and Suetonius' gait description may lie entirely on the probability of the influence of physiognomics on the latter. Of course Suetonius did not see Claudius walking which may account for some of the difference.

6.2e The Pain Game

Pain is subjective. It is not easy to discern the levels of pain from a written assessment or a literary description - that does not mean it is not present. This section concentrates therefore on management of the illness rather than trying to identify a statement that 'it hurts'; one can assume there is a degree of pain as a long-term result of polio. There is no specific source evidence regarding the resulting pain caused by muscle overuse or muscle spasm, which is the second most common symptom in a post-polio patient – the differential diagnosis is to exclude common

¹⁴² Evans (1969) p.94n8, cites Arist.813b which is concerned with stride patterns and speed. Suetonius produces more a portrait than a character sketch, it requires another step in the equation to reach Evans' conclusion. Suetonius does not say anything about stride or speed, so the deduction is that because of a problem the patterns are shorter and slower and would be slow starter and poor finisher.

disorders of wear and tear,¹⁴³ and the consequences of overuse 'may simply represent the inevitable consequences of chronic disability and be no more common in post-polio than they are in individuals with neuromuscular diseases'.¹⁴⁴ Once other conditions have been excluded, it is the case that not all post-polio patients experience pain; there is no report of Claudius needing to walk with a stick or crutch, which would be consistent with a study showing that of those who could walk without a mechanical brace, 84% experienced chronic pain.¹⁴⁵ It is feasible that Claudius would be within the 16% group if he experienced no chronic pain. The difficulty here is deciding whether he experienced pain and it is not acknowledged by the sources, or that he experienced little pain, or he managed the pain.¹⁴⁶ Of all the other movement techniques, 92-100% experienced pain of one type or another, and this raises the same problem of what may be missing from the sources.

One proposal could be that Claudius used the covered chair extensively, mentioned in Dio, precisely because he did experience pain; 'furthermore, he was the first of the Romans to use a covered chair, and it is due to his example that today not only the emperors but we ex-consuls as well are carried in chairs'.¹⁴⁷ Celsus writes that it is a normal way of carrying someone who is sick,¹⁴⁸ so it is unclear whether there is enough evidence for a hypothesis that Claudius was managing his own post-polio

¹⁴³ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.C.1, osteoarthritis, bursitis (Bruno (2003) p.149 discusses this as a condition of post-polio caused by muscle overuse and damage causing inflammation), tendonitis (also see Bruno p.149)

¹⁴⁴ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.C.1, they outline three categories of pain, where Type I is post polio muscle pain PPMP which occurs only in muscles affected by polio; Type II is a muscle overuse pain; Type III is a biomechanical pain where weakness caused by 'polio muscles and poor body mechanics' makes joints susceptible to degenerative joint disease. A study of 111 post-polio patients showed that 100% had abnormal gait deviations (Smith in Gawne & Halstead XI.C.1), 40% had an uneven pelvic base, and 33% had major trunk deviations, as described by Bruno (2003) p.148-49; Claudius had an abnormal gait, and an uneven pelvic base cannot be ruled out.

¹⁴⁵ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.C.2, table 11; table 10 gives the limb distribution of pain categories.

¹⁴⁶ For PPS Management of pain see Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.C.2; Bruno (2003) p.224ff.; Silver (2001) includes the use of alternative medicine p44-52, Type I pain p.42-9, 54-6, Type II p.56-60, Type III p.60-1.

¹⁴⁷ Dio.60.2.3, trans. Cary; Augustus and Tiberius used a litter, while in Josephus Gaius and Claudius also used a litter.

¹⁴⁸ Celsus I.10; also there are certain chapters that demonstrate the state of current medical practice in Claudius' lifetime, such as methods for those patients with a delicate constitution I.2-3, or the remedies for any weakness in specific parts of the body, see I.4-9. With direct relevance to Claudius is the section on abdominal pain VII.19ff. and the assertion that the application of cold water causes the neck to swell, II.1.19; V.18.5, 28.7. The chapter on leg breaks and fractures, VIII.10.5, shows a degree of awareness of fixing such mishaps, and adds weight to the probability that Claudius' lameness was not due to an accident.

symptoms in order to reduce discomfort, pain and fatigue. The treatment and management of pain in post-polio patients can involve mechanical aids but it is the 'reduction in stress, activity, and weight and lifestyle changes that have the most impact on reducing pain',¹⁴⁹ where new ways of doing things have to be learned; for Claudius as *princeps* this may have proved difficult as his duties and workload increased, unless a combination of fatigue and a stutter (which will increase stress and therefore additional fatigue) meant the delegation of some duties was the only reasonable solution to allow him to pace himself and to function in public,¹⁵⁰ although the reports of his daytime sleeping could point to a failure of the aim.

6.2f Exhaustion, Fatigue and plain dog-tired

The effects of sleep disturbance on polio survivors is due to a number of factors, and is an important symptom of PPS; they will be compared to the evidence on Claudius. 'Fatigue is often a non-specific complaint with a variety of possible etiologies',¹⁵¹ but it is usually described as overall exhaustion, with a decrease in endurance, energy and in mental alertness in some cases.¹⁵² Studies have shown the premature exhaustion of new axon sprouts from the nerve to muscle fibre after polio, and exhaustion of their motor neurons because of the excessive metabolic demand, greater than the nervous system can handle;¹⁵³ the more demands placed on the muscles of Claudius, the increased probability of suffering from muscular fatigue – the use of a litter may be a reasonable solution to fatigue, especially as there are

¹⁴⁹ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.C.2.

¹⁵⁰ The influence of the stutter should be addressed by further research, but it should not be omitted from consideration in any analysis of stress and fatigue. The additional influence that the stutter may have had in terms of constructing an administration system where Claudius could function is beyond the scope of this chapter.

¹⁵¹ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.B.1.

¹⁵² Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.B.1; B Jubelt, JC Agre 'Characteristics and management of Post Polio Syndrome', 2000 p.412-414 also see table 1, <http://jama.ama-assn.org/cgi/content/full/284/4/412>, 24.07.03.

¹⁵³ For an engine the throttle would be fully open but the carburettor could not deliver enough fuel to the engine. Jubelt & Drucker (1993) see table 3; it is the overuse of muscles that causes muscle fatigue that may 'contribute to the excessive metabolic demand on motor neurons, and premature exhaustion might also be enhanced by the prior poliovirus infection of motor neurons with residual damage', Jubelt & Drucker (1993) see refs. 23,156,158-60.

references to him walking across the Forum, or escaping from the mob on foot.¹⁵⁴ This demonstrated there was not constant use of the litter and this helps to 'grade' or assess any disability; Claudius could not be totally incapacitated. Examples of walking, riding in a chariot, standing or being carried in a litter use different 'muscle programs', and there is a certain level of activity, enough probably to cause fatigue. Dio writes that 'in the senate the emperor would rise himself in case the others had been standing a long time; for by reason of his ill health he frequently remained seated, as I have related, and read his advice, if asked for it'.¹⁵⁵ There is the ability to rise and to stand, but not for a substantial length of time, although the *princeps* would not need to be on his feet all day.

Fatigue mainly surfaces as a lack of energy, or increasing physical weakness, and 'the fatigue usually occurs on a daily basis and progresses during the day. It is typically brought on by an accumulation of activities that had been carried out previously on a daily basis'.¹⁵⁶ It is later in the day when polio survivors experience the results of fatigue, like 'hitting a wall',¹⁵⁷ and Silver outlines the Central Fatigue Theory to explain this event.

Central Fatigue Theory states the poliovirus having attacked the CNS including sections of the brain dealing with staying awake, attention and memory which results in a lack of alertness, concentration and memory.¹⁵⁸ There are parallels between PPS, Myalgic encephalomyelitis (ME) and Chronic Fatigue Syndrome (CFS),¹⁵⁹ where fatigue is triggered or made worse by physical effort and emotional stress; the conclusion is that available evidence led to the proposal of a model for post-viral

¹⁵⁴ Suet.Claud.XV.3, also XVIII.2 for the quick escape into the palace from the Forum after being pelted with bread, although it is not clear whether Claudius was on foot.

¹⁵⁵ Dio.60.12.3. Also see 60.2.2.

¹⁵⁶ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.B.1.

¹⁵⁷ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.B.1.

¹⁵⁸ Silver p.70-1 and refs 5-6; also Bruno (2003) p.158ff. for an explanation of the effect polio has on the brainstem, hypothalamus, thalamus and basal ganglia, where all these areas are involved in the control or triggering of the brain activating system. These areas have been affected in the initial viral attack, and their subsequent recovery is inconclusive and open to speculation at present, Bruno p.161; but it is known that recovery falters with late onset polio symptoms of post polio, Bruno p.161 – the result is that it produces the same inattentiveness, poor memory and lack of concentration originally seen in the polio patient. Other causes of fatigue are listed in Silver table 9.1 p.72.

¹⁵⁹ See Bruno (2003) ch.17 for a full discussion of the similarities, and the model. Also discussion on causes of Fatigue, and medication, see Silver (2001) p.68-79.

fatigue syndromes. Bruno's model anticipated that it was normal for neurons in the brainstem and basal ganglia to be tired by the end of the day, and this 'decreases brain activation and produces typical feelings of fatigue, difficulty paying attention, not wanting to get out of a chair, and the overwhelming desire to just slip between the sheets and go to sleep'.¹⁶⁰ The cause of ME and CFS is not a mild poliovirus, and the proposal by Bruno is that the polio vaccine eliminated the dominant polio enterovirus allowing other enteroviruses access to the stomach, hence the rise in the 20th century of ME in Britain and CFS in the USA.¹⁶¹ This means that it is unlikely that the non-polio enteroviruses would survive in a polio patient, so if Claudius had polio one cannot attribute his apparent fatigue to CFS or ME.¹⁶²

Sleep disturbances, either from musculoskeletal pain or night-time pulmonary and respiratory problems, and relative overactivity can be causes of fatigue; the causes may apply to the evidence in the sources where Claudius' disturbed sleep, plus the additional factor of the position of consul, or of *princeps*, resulted in a definite change from the sedentary life of the historian to a post that required more physical input. The resultant lethargy, a possible lack of endurance, the lack of mental alertness and lack of concentration are described by the sources, where Claudius catnaps, makes inappropriate interjections or displays a lack of memory.¹⁶³ Tests on polio survivors with fatigue showed that those with severe fatigue took 2/3 more time to complete the attention tests, but the performance nearly matched those with no fatigue; the results showed that virtually all polio survivors make more mistakes in attention tests than those without polio, but the neuron damage is worse in those who

¹⁶⁰ Bruno (2003) p.287.

¹⁶¹ Bruno (2003) p.288.

¹⁶² See Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.B.1; JC Agre 'Local Muscle and Total Body fatigue' in Grimby & Halstead p35-67 for an account of decreasing muscle strength and function, the effect of exercise on post polio patients, and the recommendations for the control of symptoms and fatigue p61-2, are as follows:

1) Weight loss; 2) Protect weakened muscles by using canes, wheelchairs 'which is known to significantly reduce the energy expenditure required for ambulation' p62; 3) Reduce and prioritise activities and include periods of rest; 4) Avoid excessive fatigue because of the long recovery time for muscles (days); 5) gentle exercise for disused muscles. Silver ch.14 concurs, with energy conservation and pacing of activity, plus an evaluation of the lack of sleep, simplifying daily routines – Silver p128-29 gives an example of the latter as Einstein having several sets of the same clothes in order to remove the time and effort required to choose clothes every day; also see Silver appendix to Ch.14 p135-39 for a complete outline, and Gawne & Halstead (195) XI.B.2 for treatment.

¹⁶³ The inappropriate comments may be in part due to the word avoidance and substitution of a stutter, or the result of a block being freed making the comment be spoken after the original context had passed, or it may be part of a language disorder.

experience more fatigue and they have more trouble concentrating even on simple tasks.¹⁶⁴ Claudius may sit somewhere in the middle of these groupings, and the problem does not lie in memory or thinking ability – ‘the problems polio survivors report with memory and thinking are due to difficulty getting information into their brains, not difficulty storing the information or processing it once it is inside’.¹⁶⁵ The problem lies in damage caused to the reticular activating system (RAS) by the poliovirus, and this leads to impaired triggering of the cortex which results in difficulties with attention and concentration reported by polio survivors as ‘brain fatigue’.¹⁶⁶ Therefore the reports of Claudius’ memory lapses or inattention during court cases would be entirely reasonable and conform to the pattern of post polio fatigue.¹⁶⁷ A study comparing the cognitive deficit of patients with PPS who had fatigue and those who had no fatigue, produced results that there is ‘no evidence that general fatigue or the cognitive load affects cognitive functioning in post-polio’.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Bruno (2003) p.162.

¹⁶⁵ Bruno (2003) p.163; it would be too neat to attribute Claudius’ request for Messalina after her execution, *Suet.Claud.* XXXIX.1,

¹⁶⁶ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.B.1.

¹⁶⁷ *Suet.Claud.*XXXIII.2, *Sen.Apoc.*8.1, 3; 11.1; 13.6 see Hurley (2001) p.143.

¹⁶⁸ G Ostlund, K Borg, and A Wahlin, ‘Cognitive functioning in post-polio patients with and without general fatigue’, 2005 – Medline abstract.

6.2g Ice Station Zebra

Many polio survivors find they need to keep warm. Cold intolerance is one of the most common symptoms of PPS,¹⁶⁹ and may be accompanied by colour changes in the skin from cyanosis with a violet colour or blanching of the affected limb – this can also be experienced as a burning pain, hyperesthesia or decreased manual dexterity.¹⁷⁰ The cause is damage to the vasoconstrictor neurons at the time of the polio infection, and the references to Claudius being wrapped up against the cold are testament to that. The vasoconstrictor neurons control body temperature, and the decreased blood flow to the skin results in heat loss and subsequent cooling of the limb.¹⁷¹ Cold intolerance or sensitivity is reported by polio survivors as being present since their original illness,¹⁷² and it is a symptom of PPS because the manifestation may be worse in later years;¹⁷³ ‘at the present time treatment for cold extremities is largely symptomatic, with the use of multiple layers of clothes, especially in the extremities’.¹⁷⁴ Claudius was wrapped up as a child or youth against the cold, and there are references to him wearing a *sagum* whilst *princeps*, and the comment that he changed from his military tunic into a toga;¹⁷⁵ if his legs were exposed it may imply that he was feeling the cold. In addition the image of Claudius with a deformed or atrophied leg as on the *cistophori* from Ephesus creates its own problems, either of self-image or ridicule.

Not only can polio survivors experience cold intolerance from the initial illness onwards, but the symptoms can deteriorate years after, therefore they are considered to be part of PPS;¹⁷⁶ but it is also the case that regulating body temperature becomes more of a problem as people age, so ‘polio survivors may experience age-related

¹⁶⁹ Gawne & Halstead (1995) table 3 section VII.

¹⁷⁰ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.D.1.

¹⁷¹ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.D.1; Silver (2001) p.79-82.

¹⁷² Polio survivors are more sensitive to stimuli because of the damage caused by the poliovirus to the spinal cord and the brain, Silver (2001) p.81; Bruno (2003) p.190-98.

¹⁷³ Silver (2001) p.81.

¹⁷⁴ Gawne & Halstead (1995) X.D.2.

¹⁷⁵ Dio.60.6.9.

¹⁷⁶ Silver (2001) p.81.

changes that escalates the pre-existing problem of injured nerves and atrophied muscles'.¹⁷⁷ This factor can lead to greater discomfort as the years progress. Regarding cold intolerance Bruno investigated the problem of reduced blood flow, and extended the concept of the poliovirus attacking motor neurons to attacking the sympathetic nervous system in the spinal cord that caused the contraction of blood vessels – if the sympathetic neurons failed then bloodflow should not stop to the skin, it should be the opposite because of the lack of control.¹⁷⁸ The experiment measures skin temperature, bloodflow, electrical nerve conduction, and hand dexterity at 20°C, 25°C, 30°C. The results showed that bloodflow was much lower at 25°C in the affected hand in post polio subjects (compared to the other hand or those of non-polio subjects) and as the temperature dropped to 20°C Bruno found that 'motor nerve conduction became abnormally slow in 80% of polio survivors' more affected hands and in 60% of their less affected hands. In fact motor neurons were functioning as if room temperature was about 20 degrees colder than it actually was',¹⁷⁹ and there was a decrease in manual dexterity and strength.¹⁸⁰ This may be the explanation of the strange hand movement of Claudius described in the *Apocolocyntosis*, because of the lack of manual dexterity which would be more prevalent in the arm affected by the poliovirus, which if it was his right leg that was affected by polio then it is his right arm being described by Seneca, as polio is asymmetric. Bruno describes the affected movement in polio survivors as abnormally slow, which if the additional muscle weakness is included then any hand gesture by a polio survivor will not look 'normal'.

For a polio survivor, any heat loss is not easy to reverse, as it can take hours to increase body temperature, reduce the pain and regain movement in the limbs.¹⁸¹ Conversely, if a polio survivor gets too hot it is equally difficult to stabilise the temperature or reduce the discomfort caused by the blood vessels being wide open – it is this that causes red legs. There are no reports of Claudius having blue feet, or blue lower legs, or red puffy feet, but as he normally dressed in a toga and patrician boots his lower leg and feet would not be visible very often. Suetonius mentions that

¹⁷⁷ Silver (2001) p.81.

¹⁷⁸ Bruno (2003) p.192.

¹⁷⁹ Bruno (2003) p.193.

¹⁸⁰ See Bruno (2003) p.194-5 for explanation of how polio survivors become progressively colder throughout the day with negative consequences for movement.

¹⁸¹ Bruno (2003) p.195.

Augustus wore layers of clothing to keep warm, so there is a precedent for keeping warm, even though there is not an explicit reference in Claudius' later career to the necessity to keep warm. Augustus also had problems keeping cool, as on summer nights he needed doors to be open and to be cooled with a fan.¹⁸² To avoid direct sunlight he wore a broad-brimmed hat, a *petasus*, and he also travelled at night,¹⁸³ although it is not clear if that is because of avoiding the sunlight or the higher temperatures of the day time. A painstaking analysis of Augustus' illness has not been undertaken in this context, but it does demonstrate the attempt to manage body temperature. What is of interest though is that prevention is important; polio patients are told to avoid draughts and keep warm from the outset by using socks, gloves and so on, to dress in layers to control the heat loss by changing the amount of clothing worn.¹⁸⁴ This sort of temperature management seems to be precisely what Augustus was doing and Claudius used a cloak, but whether that was a layer or to add further camouflage for his leg, or just to be seen is not clear; the possibility that he wore layers of vests under his toga is likely and worth consideration,¹⁸⁵ but for now remains an unknown.

6.2h Breathing and Sleep problems

This section continues the discussion begun in 6.2.4, and concentrates on the disruption caused by respiratory problems, and the resultant sleep disturbance. Impaired respiratory function during the acute stage of polio led to 15% of those patients with a respiratory deficiency having to use an Iron Lung in the 1950s and 60s.¹⁸⁶ Those patients who had an initial respiratory problem were now found 30-40

¹⁸² Suet.*Aug.*LXXXII.1.

¹⁸³ Suet.*Aug.*LXXXII.1.

¹⁸⁴ 'Layering of clothing is especially important during changes of season' Bruno p.197, because of the fluctuations of temperature between day to night, and from day to day. Petronius describes Trimalchio as being wrapped up around the neck to keep warm, and this may allude to Claudius and sit alongside the theory that the edict for breaking wind, mentioned in the *Satyricon* and cited by Suetonius also came from Claudius, Petron.*Sat.* 47.4-6; Suet.*Claud.*XXXII, Hurley also cites Celsus 2.3.6; Suet.*Aug.*LXXXII.

¹⁸⁵ Augustus' physique and ailments are described in Suet.*Aug.*LXXIX-LXXXII.

¹⁸⁶ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.E.1; J Borg, J Weinberg, 'Respiratory Management in Late Post-Polio', *Post Polio Syndrome*, ed. L.S.Halstead, G. Grimby, 1995 p.113-124, and p113 states that 10-

years later to have developed new breathing difficulties, and that 18-38% of those who originally had assisted breathing needed mechanical assistance – which means the remainder had new symptoms but did not need mechanical assistance to breath. Significantly for the study of Claudius, Halstead's study showed 42% of patients had new respiratory problems¹⁸⁷ and 'that the difference between the prevalence of acute problems (15%) and late effects (42%) suggests either subclinical involvement initially or the combined effects of cardiopulmonary disease and deconditioning',¹⁸⁸ and this allows for respiratory symptoms to deteriorate over time. It was not necessary to have initial critical breathing difficulties to suffer later, and severe respiratory dysfunction would have proved fatal in the acute phase in the 1st century AD because of the lack of assisted ventilation.¹⁸⁹

Even if polio survivors breathe without apparent difficulty, the effects of aging on muscles plus the reduced reserves of muscle strength polio survivors have as a result of the acute phase, result in slight respiratory muscle changes and subsequent breathing difficulty.¹⁹⁰ Another factor which increases the risk of new respiratory problems is the original poliovirus may have damaged the control centre for breathing (bulbar polio) in the brainstem, but 'polio survivors without scoliosis, bulbar polio or breathing problems – either today or when they had polio – can still have sleep apnea and hyponeas'.¹⁹¹ This allows for a polio survivor to have sleep-disordered breathing but no significant breathing difficulty, and this would apply in Claudius' case because although there are reports of dysarthria and dysphagia there

20% of patients with acute paralytic polio required assisted ventilation (in the Iron Lung), and that the majority would not need long-term assistance.

¹⁸⁷ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.E.1 ref. 74.

¹⁸⁸ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.E.1.

¹⁸⁹ Those at greatest risk for severe late onset pulmonary problems in the 20th century had 'moderate to severe respiratory involvement initially and usually required ventilatory assistance', (Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.E.1) or those who had scoliosis, a spine deformity. The pulmonary problems are defined as lung diseases, symptoms of exertional dyspnea, sleep apnea and reduced pulmonary endurance caused by weakened muscles used for breathing, chronic alveolar hypoventilation (CAH), increased scoliosis, decreased pulmonary compliance, effects of smoking or asthma, (Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.E.1; Bruno (2003) p.174-74 for a patients' description of breathing difficulties; Borg & Weinberg (1995) p.113-14)

¹⁹⁰ Silver (2001) p.83-4; the sleep-disordered breathing which occurs in 'the post-polio population to a greater degree than no-polios' Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.E.1.

¹⁹¹ Bruno (2003) p.135; Silver (2001) p.84; Fischer's study of 155 polio survivors reports symptoms suggesting sleep-disordered breathing where 59% woke frequently, 39% snored, 41% had daytime fatigue, for the 90 control subjects the figures are 8%, 8% and 6% respectively, Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.E.1.

is no mention of difficulty actually breathing, and Suetonius reports broken sleep which is in addition to daytime fatigue. Late-onset pulmonary dysfunction is usually caused by chronic alveolar hypoventilation (CAH),¹⁹² or sleep-disordered breathing, the former because of muscle weakness, scoliosis or obesity. Suetonius states that Claudius was not slim,¹⁹³ and this can result in breathing inefficiency where there is a difficulty clearing secretions caused by upper-respiratory infections. This can have serious consequences because uncleared mucus plugs in the throat can result in hypoxia and respiratory failures,¹⁹⁴ but this does not seem to be the case for Claudius.

Sleep apnea is second to CAH as a respiratory problem for polio survivors, and it is defined as 'an intermittent cessation of airflow at the nose and mouth during sleep',¹⁹⁵ of which there are two types, central apnea or obstructive apnea. The former is caused by a disruption to the signals that control breathing,¹⁹⁶ whilst the

¹⁹² CAH is a condition where there is an insufficient gas exchange of oxygen and carbon dioxide in the lungs, and this is solved for polio survivors by using a mechanical device, a bilevel positive pressure airway (Bi-PAP), J.R. Bach, A. S. Alba, 'Pulmonary Dysfunction and Sleep Disordered Breathing as Post-Polio Sequelae: Evaluation and Management', 1991 <http://www.ott.zynet.co.uk/polio/lincolnshire/library/bach/pdandsdp.html> 7/08/05, gives a very detailed assessment of the pulmonary management of sleep-disordered breathing and CAH for polio survivors, and possible/consequent surgical intervention. Bach & Alba report one set of figures for the epidemic in Denmark of 1952: the mortality rate for those patients with bulbar involvement and respiratory paralysis was 94%, and for those with only respiratory paralysis was 28%. These figures were reduced over time by applying new techniques, as a result the general mortality rate from polio fell from 12-15% in 1948 to 2% in 1952; Silver (2001) p.86; Bruno (2003) p.185-86; Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.E.2; Jubelt & Agre (2001).

¹⁹³ Suet.*Claud.*XXX.

¹⁹⁴ Gawne & Halstead XI.E.1.

¹⁹⁵ Silver p.88 and ref. 7, breathing can stop for 10 seconds to 2-3 minutes, and approximately 10-15 periods per hour.

¹⁹⁶ It is the cranial nerves of the medulla, part of the brainstem, which are involved in breathing, and LMN lesions of the vagal system (see A.J. Gatz, *Manter's Essentials of Clinical Neuroanatomy and Neurophysiology*, 1970 p.51 for description of the vagal system) can result in dysphagia, dysphonia and dysarthria. (A.J. Gatz, p.51-7, and p.53) The parasympathetic nerves of the vagal system are responsible for stimulation of secretions by the salivary glands, while sensory nerves carry information (pain stimuli) – the vagus nerve carries signals from the stomach, small intestine and ascending colon (Gatz p.54-5). These may have some bearing on Claudius' symptoms, as he presents symptoms of dysphagia in the form of drooling and nasal reflux, dysphonia and dysarthria plus an unspecified pain in the *stomachus* that may be related to a sleep disorder. The reflexes of the vagal system for which there is evidence for their functioning in Claudius; the Gag reflex and the Vomiting reflex carry stimuli information along the glossopharyngeal nerve and the vagus nerve respectively when Claudius' *stomachus* was relieved, (Suet.*Claud.*XXXIII.1, XLIV.3; Gatz p.56-7). The breathing reflex, the Carotid Body Reflex, is triggered by reactions to changes in carbon dioxide and oxygen levels in the blood, and the information is carried to the 'respiratory centre' of the medulla, which receives further stimuli from the hypothalamus to maintain the rhythm of breathing, (Gatz p.56).

latter is caused by a blockage where muscles of the throat become relaxed and intermittently close off the passageway to the lungs.¹⁹⁷ The result of sleep-disordered breathing is disrupted sleep, morning headaches, daytime somnolence and fatigue,¹⁹⁸ all of which could be applicable to Claudius. Even though there is no report of headaches this should not lessen the correlation between the evidence and the clinical symptoms. Claudius is reported as sleeping for an hour at a time, falling asleep in the law courts, and for being lazy or sleepy,¹⁹⁹ as well as the accusations of lacking concentration and a poor memory. Even if pain, apneas and night time movement²⁰⁰ can disturb sleep 'it is no secret that polio survivors have trouble falling asleep, can wake frequently during the night for no reason, and awaken far too early'.²⁰¹ Depression can be a factor for insomnia,²⁰² and more importantly for an understanding of Claudius' symptoms, 'alcohol and obesity both make the symptoms of obstructive sleep apnea significantly worse',²⁰³ and that polio survivors can have a mixture of the two types of apnea. The evidence produced by recent research on polio survivors' sleep disruption can be applied directly to the symptoms of Claudius, and one can conclude that he suffered from sleep disturbances in the form of sleep-disordered breathing, probably not caused by CAH, and that it was probably obstructive type connected to muscle weakness in the throat and oesophagus (and linked to dysphagia) as a result of the poliovirus.

The symptoms of dysphagia often occur in polio survivors alongside the symptoms of sleep apnea or sleep disorder, because the nerves and muscles that control the function of swallowing, speech and breathing are close together, and all of them may

Lesions, including those caused by the poliovirus, cause interruptions to the production and processing of stimuli required for breathing.

¹⁹⁷ Bruno (2003) p.184, states that 10% of polio survivors have central apnea, and 15% have obstructive sleep apnea; 60% of polio survivors have hyponea which is caused by there being insufficient movement of the diaphragm because of interrupted respiratory stimuli.

¹⁹⁸ Borg & Weinberg (1995) p.114; Silver (2001) p.88; Bruno (2003) p.188; For a diagnosis of sleep apnea, a polysomnograph is performed (Silver p.89, Borg & Wienberg p.114-5) which cannot be applied in this case, although 'other factors may predict (but not necessarily cause) sleep apnea include a history of high blood pressure or CAH, restless sleep, mood changes, difficulty with memory and concentration, being overweight (even moderately) and morning headaches', Silver p88-9.

¹⁹⁹ Suet.*Claud.*VIII, XXXIII.2; Juv.*Sat.*3.236-8

²⁰⁰ Bruno (2003) p.176-83 describes nocturnal muscle twitching found in polio survivors.

²⁰¹ Bruno (2003) p.187-88.

²⁰² Bruno (2003) p.188.

²⁰³ Silver p.88; there are references in the sources to Claudius drinking, Suet.*Claud.*.V, XXXIII, XL.1; Sen.*Apoc.*8.2; Dio.61.4.4, 34.2.

have been attacked by the poliovirus ‘even if bulbar polio was not thought to be present’.²⁰⁴ The symptoms of bulbar polio are one or more of dysarthria, dysphagia, aphonia, dysfluency and crucially breathing difficulties,²⁰⁵ the last of which is not one of Claudius’ cluster of symptoms, as the prognosis after the acute illness would not be good; the symptom of dysfluency in polio survivors is a result of interruptions to the airflow caused by nerve deterioration of polio, which is not stuttering. Bulbar dysfluency can be discounted because of the evidence of Claudius being able to deliver speeches and the testimony of Augustus on declamation. Any intermittent or dysfluent speech in Claudius’ youth requires an examination of chronology; if Augustus is commenting before Claudius’ polio attack then Claudius had a stutter anyway, and if he is commenting after the polio attack then it cannot be Bulbar Polio because of the ability to deliver a declamation piece. The exclusion of Bulbar polio would be consistent with Claudius’ survival from the acute phase, the apparent gait disorder and possible asymmetric limb muscle weakness, and that there were no late-onset breathing difficulties, allowing for late-onset symptoms to be less severe and not life threatening.

6.2i Stomach Pain

The problematical Suet.*Claud.*XXXI requires further analysis in relation to the symptoms of post polio syndrome: *Valitudine sicut olim gravi, ita princeps prospera usus est excepto stomachi dolore, quo se correptum etiam de consciscenda morte cogitasse dixit*. The phrase *stomachi dolore* specifically needs examination. Celsus says that *stomachus* refers to the gullet or the oesophagus in the passage that carries food to the stomach,²⁰⁶ and he refers to *bono stomacho* in relation to a strong stomach,²⁰⁷ which is not liable to upset; it is Scribonius Largus who uses *dolor* +

²⁰⁴ Silver (2001) p.93; see BC Sonies ‘Oral Motor and Swallowing Function’, 1995 p.127-28 for description of oropharyngeal symptoms in post-polio patients.

²⁰⁵ Sonies (1995) p.129.

²⁰⁶ Celsus IV.1.3.

²⁰⁷ Celsus I.2.9; also see Scribonius Largus 33.5; DR Langslow, *Medical Latin in the Roman Empire*, 2000 p.477.

‘body part’ but not Celsus.²⁰⁸ The only conclusion that can be drawn is that Claudius may be referring to either the oesophagus or the stomach, especially as *stomachus* is one of the anatomical terms which are used to name two or more adjacent body parts, external or internal’,²⁰⁹ and this is a semantic extension, current in everyday use and which produced a shift in meaning, like for *coxa* from hip to thigh. For Celsus and Cassius *stomachus*, the meaning ‘stomach’ is linked to the meaning ‘oesophagus’,²¹⁰ and Celsus uses terms for an area of the skin surface linked to the body part below the surface, an example is *fauces* and *guttur* where the neck is linked to inside the throat, so *stomachus* can be the skin over the stomach and the stomach itself.²¹¹ Galen used the term *cardia* for pain in the power chest or upper abdomen,²¹² and he found that the stomach is supplied by the vagus nerve, but thought that the heart and stomach could be affected together by simultaneous pain.²¹³ Galen states ‘Cardialgia is a biting in the mouth of the stomach’²¹⁴ and he proposed that stomach contractions heightened any heartburn, *cardiogmos* from *cardia* of the stomach. Even though Galen states ‘they (the ancients) defined *Kardia* both the organ in the chest and the mouth of the stomach’²¹⁵ he defines *cardiogmos* as pain because of the contractions

²⁰⁸ Langslow (2000) p.224, and notes that Cassius uses *dolor, passio, rheumatismus + stomachi*, Langslow p.225. *Stomachus*, -i is a borrowed word from Greek for oesophagus, stomach, and for a discussion of the practice of the Romans borrowing medical words see Langslow p.95-139. *Stomachus* is an old example of a borrowed word for a major body part. Scribonius’ *Compositiones* contains a dedicatory letter to C. Iulius Callistus a freed man of Claudius, and it is dated as being written AD44-48 (Langslow p.50 and note 149); Aulus Cornelius Celsus’ *De Medicina* probably predates Scribonius’ work and is believed to have been written AD14-39 (Langslow p.44), which means both writers were productive during Claudius’ lifetime. It is impossible to assign the exact influence on Claudius’ use of language or medical terminology in this case, especially as Suetonius who may have been influenced by either writer relays the comment. It is of interest that Scribonius writes *cum Britanniam peteremus cum deo nostro Caesare* (Scribonius 79.21 in Langslow p.50), and although he is not cited as Claudius’ doctor he seems to have been close to the imperial household, and it is possible that he was witness to Claudius’ condition, see Langslow p.51 and ref. 146. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that Claudius may be referring to either the oesophagus or the stomach, especially as *stomachus* is one of the anatomical terms which are used to name two or more adjacent body parts, external or internal’ (Langslow p.150) and this a semantic extension which was current in everyday use which produced a shift in meaning, like from hip to thigh. For *stomachus*, the meaning ‘stomach’ is linked to the meaning ‘oesophagus’.

²⁰⁹ Langslow (2000) p.150.

²¹⁰ Langslow (2000) p.150.

²¹¹ Langslow (2000) p.151, and see note 26 for Scribonius’ distinction between neck and throat.

²¹² R.E. Siegel, *Galen’s System of Physiology and Medicine; an analysis of his doctrines and observations on Bloodflow, Respiration, Humours and Internal diseases*, 1968 p.345.

²¹³ Siegel (1968) p.345; for a discussion of *Kardia* in Greek medicine see p.344. Note that modern medicine still uses ‘cardia of the stomach’.

²¹⁴ Trans. Siegel (1968) p.345.

²¹⁵ Galen in Siegel (1968) p.345 ref 40.

of the mouth of the stomach and that yellow bile irritated the stomach wall and if palpitations were present it represented heart problems.²¹⁶

Symptoms produced by gastrointestinal dysmotility are variable depending on the part of the gastrointestinal tract involved. Fig.6.2 lists symptoms produced by dysmotility of certain parts of the gastrointestinal tract. We can see that there are a variety of symptoms that can be caused by gastrointestinal dysmotility. Thus, patients with the same disease may have different complaints that may appear to be unrelated. Patients with PPS may have difficulty with swallowing and constipation, and both symptoms can be caused by PPS.

	ORGANS	SYMPTOMS
1.	Oropharynx	Difficulty initiating swallows, food pooling in the pharynx, choking when swallowing, aspiration and aspirated pneumonia in severe cases.
2.	Esophagus	Difficulty swallowing (dysphagia), food sticking in the mid-sternum area, occasional pain with swallowing (odynophagia).
3.	Stomach	Nausea, vomiting, abdominal fullness long after meal, recurrent symptoms of stomach outlet obstruction (gastroparesis).
4.	Small intestine	Abdominal pain and bloating after meal, nausea, vomiting, diarrhoea, recurrent symptoms of small bowel obstruction in severe cases.
5.	Colon	Constipation, abdominal pain and bloating, recurrent symptoms of colonic obstruction in severe cases.
6.	Anus	Constipation

Figure 6.2 Common symptoms caused by Dysmotility in the Gastrointestinal Tract.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Siegel (1968) p346, who identifies the symptoms in Galen as heart disease p347. Galen also comments on Hippocrates observation that *cardialgia* often occurred in the autumn, a time of malaria and intestinal parasites. Siegel p.347 puts forward *ascaris* as the parasite that may cause the muscle spasms of *cardialgia*, and that the unclear and ambiguous terms coupled to a mistake in diagnosis by Galen meant he did not recognise *angina pectoris* as a sign of heart disease. The work of Galen does not make diagnosis of Claudius' stomach pain clearer if one takes the symptoms as that of heart disease, but the pain itself, the irritation of the stomach wall, the description of the site, and even the muscle spasms may have some correlation to a Hiatus Hernia, although why that should be specifically seasonal is unclear.

²¹⁷ Table modified from Table 2 in S. Anuras, *Gastrointestinal Involvement in the Post-Polio Syndrome*, 1991.

%	SYMPTOMS	ORGANS INVOLVED
53	Abdominal Bloating	Stomach, Small Intestine, Colon
51	Heartburn	Esophagus
48	Constipation	Colon, Anorectum
40	Abdominal Pain	Small Intestine, Colon
32	Choking with Swallowing	Oropharynx
32	Dysphagia	Esophagus
32	Diarrhea	Small Intestine, Colon
28	Nausea	Stomach, Small Intestine
24	Difficulty Initiating Swallow	Oropharynx
12	Vomiting	Stomach, Small Intestine
0.7	Intestinal pseudoobstruction	Small Intestine

Figure 6.3 Results of a survey to gauge the Incidence of Gastrointestinal Symptoms for 754 Post-Polio patients.²¹⁸

The symptoms outlined in Fig.6.2 can be applied to Claudius; he has symptoms comparable to numbers 1-5, which does not mean he has all, but he shows some of the signs that are commonly associated with muscle dysmotility in the gastrointestinal tract, from the oesophagus to the colon. The results in Fig. 6.3 suggest that PPS patients are likely to have the gastrointestinal symptoms tabulated, probably a result of gastrointestinal dysmotility. Heartburn is a symptom of Hiatus Hernia, but the dysphagia, abdominal pain and abdominal bloating is relevant to Claudius' health after his accession and is consistent with having polio and PPS.

Hiatus Hernia is a main cause of peptic oesophagitis where there is a problem with the anti-reflux mechanism at the cardia that is caused by herniation of part of the

²¹⁸ Results modified from S. Anuras, *Gastrointestinal Involvement in the Post-Polio Syndrome*, 1991, who note that there are only 'a few studies of gastrointestinal involvement in polio survivors, and all are limited to oropharyngeal dysphagia'. The % refers to the percentage of post polio patients who reported that symptom.

stomach.²¹⁹ Gastric juices are allowed to flow into the oesophagus, and it is gastro-oesophageal reflux which causes the burning sensation associated with heartburn.²²⁰ This is identified as a sliding type of hernia, and can result in dysphagia due to inflammation, muscle spasms or ulceration; the rolling type can result in dysphagia, a feeling of fullness, distension and chest discomfort after meals, and a complication can be gastric ulceration.²²¹ Although four times more common in women than men, increasing age or obesity are factors where an increase in intra-abdominal pressure occurs because of decreased muscle effectiveness.²²² If Claudius suffered the pain of gastro-oesophageal reflux it would be exacerbated by lying down, and with a lack of antacid drugs. Hence, pain relief is only accomplished in these circumstances and without modern drugs, by reducing the abdominal pressure.²²³ This would be by means of relieving the pressure in the stomach by forcing the vomiting reflex. This is what is described when Claudius is carried from the dining room stuffed with food and full of drink, and he goes to sleep at once and a feather is put down his throat to relieve his stomach; *Nec temere umquam triclinio abscessit nisi distentus ac madens, et ut statim supino ac per somnum hainti pinna in os inderentur ad exonerandum stomachum.*²²⁴ Note the use of *distentus* to describe that Claudius' stomach was absolutely full, where distension of the stomach in clinical terms is a symptom of a Hiatus Hernia, and sleeping after a meal is a symptom of PPS. In relation to symptoms of post polio, hiatal hernia has been discovered as 'an additional abnormality not necessarily related to a history of post polio',²²⁵ but it is there nonetheless in some post polio patients. An alternative may be that *distentus* could refer to abdominal bloating but that would not normally produce the intense pain of a hiatus hernia.

²¹⁹ F.D. Lee, 'Alimentary Tract' *Muir's Textbook of Pathology* 10th ed., ed. R.J. Anderson, London: Edward Arnold, 1976 p.539; Anon 'What you need to know about Hiatus Hernia' *Nursing Times* 99 no.27 (2003) p.28.

²²⁰ Lee (1976) p.539.

²²¹ *Nursing Times* p.28; the sliding type is caused by a short oesophagus which pulls part of the stomach up into the thorax, and muscle contraction in swallowing temporarily shortens the oesophagus further; see Lee (1976) p.539-40. The rolling type is the result of an abnormally large opening in the diaphragm, which allows some of the stomach up inside the thorax beside the oesophagus, Lee (1976) p.539-40.

²²² Lee (1976) p.540.

²²³ B. Levy, M.A. Young, 'Pathophysiology of swallowing and Gastroesophageal Reflux', 1999 p.178-9.

²²⁴ Suet.*Claud.*33.

²²⁵ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.G.1, where it was found during one research study into PPS that 11 out of 25 post-polio patients presented symptoms of a Hiatus Hernia.

Polio survivors suffer from middle age diarrhoea and colitis (10%), and ulcers and constipation (15%), and these are six times more common in polio survivors than non-polio subjects which 'may be evidence of poliovirus damage to the brainstem neurons and the vagus nerve disrupting the normal functioning of the stomach and the intestines'.²²⁶ This may be confirmed by 'video swallowing studies found that these polio survivors have reflux, in which stomach acid moves up into the oesophagus and causes heartburn because the muscle controlling the valve between the oesophagus and stomach becomes weak'.²²⁷

The evidence points to Claudius' pain in the stomach being produced as a result of a Hiatus hernia, or serious heartburn that can be directly related to the invasion by the poliovirus. Therefore this does not exclude the testimony in Suetonius about Claudius' stomach pains, it confirms it, and for those pains being connected to the residual effects of the original polio attack. The details of stomach pain are important because it seems to have been reported from Claudius himself, and the symptom would be present after the initial polio attack, and therefore fits with the revised chronology produced in the thesis for *Claud.*XXX-XXXI. A first hand account of a disorder is rare and invaluable, and it sets the stomach disorder alongside the descriptions of Seneca. The importance should not be minimised, and the management of the problem should not be treated as insignificant. Relieving the pressure in the stomach is reported in the sources, and they are accurate, but the modern interpretation has been invariably inaccurate. The result is that the sources need re-evaluating on this point, and the interpretation highlighting pain management of Claudius' symptom should have more prominence.

²²⁶ Bruno (2003) p.202.

²²⁷ Bruno (2003) p.203; heartburn in Silver (2001) p.96. A Video Swallow Study (VSS) is used to evaluate frequent choking, coughing, recurrent pneumonia and swallowing problems where the flow of food and liquid from the mouth to the stomach with a fluoroscope (X-ray unit combined with a television screen) and records the study on videotape, see S. Mark Taper Foundation Imaging Center at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center, <http://www.csmc.edu/2684.html>, 30/01/05.

6.2j Dysphagia: Drooling and Swallowing

Dysphagia is a problem with swallowing food or drink, caused by lack of control of the musculature in the mouth and oesophagus. Common causes of dysphagia are gastro-oesophageal reflux (GER) and neurodegenerative diseases,²²⁸ while the consistent reports of dysphagia in the majority of post polio patients (which because of massive vaccination programmes means the annual number of new cases is relatively small) means 'the dysphagia would only be found in those patients whose symptoms had resulted from the original illness'.²²⁹ In conjunction with this finding, a further study showed 'regardless of whether or not the original type of poliomyelitis was bulbar or spinal, new swallowing symptoms may emerge as late effects'.²³⁰ Therefore it is unlikely that if dysphagia is present it was not as a consequence of the initial polio attack.

Dysphagia can present as swallowing difficulties which are caused by pharyngeal abnormalities in the throat of patients. In post polio it appears alongside other symptoms including dysarthria, aphonia, dysfluency and impaired breathing; there is no specific report of swallowing problems for Claudius,²³¹ and with no prospect of a clinical examination²³² only those symptoms described in the sources can be considered: Juvenal describes drooling, while Suetonius mentions nasal discharge. The sources are subjective descriptions as part of a literary portrait and not medical evaluations, and they might be influenced by literary *topoi*, or physiognomics, but they can still be used to evaluate Claudius if one bears the potential influences in mind.

²²⁸ P. Leslie, P.N. Carding, J.A. Wilson, 'Investigation and Management of Chronic Dysphagia', 2003 p.433, GER is when reflux acid from the stomach can cause inflammation of the oesophagus.

²²⁹ B.C. Sonies, 'Oral Motor and Swallowing Function', in Grimby & Halstead p.125-37, p.127; for additional discussion of treatment and evaluation of abnormal swallowing see Silver p.100-2, and Silver tables 12.3, 12.4.

²³⁰ Sonies (1995) p.128, who also suggests that the range of symptoms from mild to severe is such that patients may be unaware of having them; Bruno p.202-3; Gawne & Halstead XI.G.1 report that 10-22% of post polio patients have dysphagia; see Silver (2001) p.98ff. for explanation of swallowing process and dysphagia for post polio patients.

²³¹ P.Crichton, 'Were the Roman emperors Claudius and Vitellius bulimic?', 1996 p.203-7.

²³² Sonies (1995) p.131ff. for a discussion of clinical examination and procedures.

‘The major speech change found in polio survivors is increased nasal resonance’, and the effects of muscle fatigue on the hypolaryngeal muscles combined with weakened respiratory muscles can ‘often cause increased hoarseness, lowered pitch or volume, or loss of voice’.²³³ There are descriptions of possible hoarseness and a lower pitch in the reports of Juvenal and Seneca of Claudius’ voice quality, although the two symptoms may have been combined in a literary allusion to a seal-like voice quality.

Further changes in ‘voice quality such as harshness or gurgling sounds are indicative of residue in the vocal folds and a signal of later laryngeal penetration and possible aspiration’,²³⁴ and this observation of dysphagia has a considerable bearing on the interpretation of Claudius’ voice quality. Seneca writes the comment *et ille quidem animam ebulliit*, ‘and he did indeed gurgle his life out’, after the death of Claudius that he has gurgled his last,²³⁵ which may be a comment on the last few hours of the *princeps*’ life, or more likely if it was to have any resonance with an audience the comment reflects the reality of symptoms of Dysphagia. The title of *Apocolocyntosis* has provoked much discussion and one interpretation is the ‘gourdification’ of Claudius because it reflects the gurgling noise of wine being poured from a flask as a parody of Claudius’ speech.²³⁶ In this case, the quality of the noise generated seems to be appropriate, one that could have been formed by a post polio patient, and may go some way to explain the layered choice of title. *Apocolocyntosis* may be less of a parody of stutter, but more a satirical point poking fun at Claudius’ voice quality in later life and by reflecting the emptiness of the vessel - both points would correspond to the nature of the portrait by Seneca.

An important research result with a direct bearing on the analysis of Claudius is that studies have ‘not found significant differences between the polio groups or between normal controls and post-polio patients on speech articulation and fluency’,²³⁷ and

²³³ Sonies (1995) p.131, if polio patients were aware of symptoms of dysphagia, ‘they had more severe deficits in voice quality than those who were asymptomatic’ Sonies p.131. As there is no record of Claudius being aware of any swallowing problems, it is unreliable to use this evidence to try to identify voice quality in his case, but one can surmise that if they were severe he would know.

²³⁴ Sonies (1995) p.131.

²³⁵ Sen.*Apoc.*4.2; Eden (1984) p.80.

²³⁶ Eden (1984) p.80.

²³⁷ Sonies (1995) p.129 and ref.23.

that some polio survivors have an articulatory impairment, but ‘this is not typical of post-polio and may have been co-incidental rather than disease related’,²³⁸ which means that Claudius’ stutter was not as a result of the poliovirus.

The respiratory and phonatory changes caused by new muscle weakness result in vocal difficulties of decreased volume and improper phrasing,²³⁹ but for Claudius dysfunctional speech started in childhood, and there is no evidence of decreased volume or additional phrasing problems, which would be continual not intermittent. Any additional respiratory problems would add another layer of hesitation to a stutter, giving ‘original dysfluency + new dysfluency’ which would also be affected by any changes to phonation, but this does not seem to be the case – ‘original dysfluency + late changes in phonation’ are what are attested to in the sources.

A clinical explanation of dysphagia requires observation of a patient eating ‘to determine if drooling, choking, or coughing accompanies meals, or if the patient avoids or rejects a particular type of food’;²⁴⁰ and to see if a food parcel (bolus) is being moved in an acceptable way from the mouth through the pharynx.²⁴¹ Dysphagia can also be associated with ‘problems controlling oral secretions (saliva) and may result in drooling’.²⁴² In addition there can be ‘unilateral pooling of liquids in the pyriform sinus during the pharyngeal phase of swallowing’, which is a common symptom, and may contribute to gurgling and a ‘wet voice’;²⁴³ there may also be nasal regurgitation, where food or liquid comes out of the nose,²⁴⁴ and the liquid may well be regurgitated from the pooling in the pyriform sinus which can occur even in mild or moderate dysphagia.²⁴⁵ Suetonius is specific that Claudius nose

²³⁸ Sonies (1995) p.129.

²³⁹ Sonies (1995) p.129-30; the new muscle weakness produces new symptoms, ‘once the ability to maintain adequate respiration is impaired, speech and swallowing can become dysfunctional’, Sonies p.129.

²⁴⁰ Sonies (1995) p.131, for diagnostic procedures see p.132-4 and table 2.

²⁴¹ Sonies (1995) p.131.

²⁴² Silver (2001) p.94.

²⁴³ Sonies (1995) p.133 and table 2.

²⁴⁴ Silver (2001) table 12.2; Sonies (1995) table 2.

²⁴⁵ Gawne & Halstead (1995) XI.G..1 use the term nasal reflux, and also refer to a symptom of mild or moderate dysphagia as the pooling of liquids in the pyriform sinuses; also see J.L. Weissman, ‘The radiographic Evaluation of Dysphagia: The Barium Swallow and the Modified Barium Swallow’, 1999, pp.66, 68, 73.

ran, and he includes it amongst a list of other unconnected and disagreeable traits, so it is a stand-alone observation in the source context, the opposite to the procedure in the clinical evaluation of symptoms of PPS.

Juvenal satirises the drooling, but he does not mention choking or avoiding certain food. This may be explained by post polio patients 'slowly eating small bites of food, drinking water after each bite, tucking your chin or turning your head to one side when you swallow, swallowing several times, and eating your big meal when you are most rested is all that is needed to treat swallowing problems'.²⁴⁶ Suet.*Claud.*XXXIII says Claudius left the meal only when *distentus* and *madens*, but this could also be because of the time he took to eat:

'Sometimes it took an hour to eat, swallowing small bites, and washing them down with water. Sometimes food won't go down and I have to bring it up. By the time I am done eating I feel a burning in my chest, light-headed and I get over come with fatigue again. I just have to sleep'.²⁴⁷

The description matches the scenario in Suet.*Claud.*XXXIII, and the relieving of Claudius' stomach can be either to relieve the distended stomach and so the heartburn and gastro-oesophageal reflux as discussed in 6.2.8, or it may be to free a blockage in his throat caused by a bolus getting stuck.

In PPS fatigue after eating is explained by a full stomach causing the vagus nerve to send signals to increase bloodflow to the intestines in order to get the nutrients into the bloodstream,²⁴⁸ and if the polio survivor has a damaged vagus nerve or medulla, which regulates the bloodstream, then as the pressure in the stomach increases the blood pressure falls.²⁴⁹ The vagus nerve stimulated by pressure in the stomach can in some cases cause the heart rate to slow or to increase, and the lower the blood pressure the more fatigue is apparent.²⁵⁰ These symptoms parallel the report of the condition of Claudius after eating.²⁵¹ Although it is the case that for some polio

²⁴⁶ Bruno (2003) p.205, although the treatment prescribed is challenged by the description of severe dysphagia in Silver (2001) p.91-3.

²⁴⁷ Polio survivor in Bruno (2003) p.199.

²⁴⁸ Bruno (2003) p.205.

²⁴⁹ Bruno (2003) p.205-6.

²⁵⁰ Bruno (2003) p.206.

²⁵¹ Suet.*Claud.*XXXIII.

survivors the act of vomiting after a meal can increase the pressure in the stomach so much so that they can faint,²⁵² but in Suetonius the factors seem to occur in the opposite order, sleep then vomit, not vomit and pass out, unless the report he used has confused the order of events. Fatigue is again a major component of that version of Claudius' symptoms.

There are three factors that are symptoms of dysphagia which form a cluster; all are relevant to Claudius, and can help explain why it appeared that he was eager for food anytime, any place, anywhere.²⁵³ Although a purely subjective account, it would have some basis in reality if dysphagia were a factor, and then the charge of Suetonius of gluttony would be unsubstantiated. Having discussed the excessive time taken to eat a meal because of swallowing difficulties, these can result in secondly 'difficulty reaching satiety' and finally 'feeling hungry or thirsty after a meal'.²⁵⁴ These three factors are connected and would produce the result of eating on what would seem to 'spectators' to be on a virtually continuous basis, because of the lack of food in the stomach. The proposal that Claudius was bulimic is simply untenable.²⁵⁵ If the desire for food at all times was because of the long meal times, the small amounts of food eaten, and the need to relieve the pain and pressure in the stomach then this would be driven by dysphagia, not by an eating disorder. In addition to the factors around eating, the symptoms of drooling, nasal regurgitation, dysarthria (either in the form of hypernasality or a breathy voice), hoarseness after swallowing, a gurgling voice and heartburn or a hiatal hernia area all found in the sources in relation to Claudius, and they point to dysphagia as a result of the initial acute illness poliovirus, and a symptom of post polio syndrome.

²⁵² Bruno (2003) p.206, for explanation of the link between fatigue, vomiting and Chronic Fatigue Syndrome see the work of Bruno p.207ff.

²⁵³ Suet.*Claud.*XXXIII, 'he was eager for food and drink at all times and in all places' trans. Rolfe, *cibi vinique quocumque et tempore ut loco appetentissimus*.

²⁵⁴ See Silver (2001) Table 12.2, p.99.

²⁵⁵ Crichton (1996) p.203-7, the proposal of Bulimia to account for Claudius' eating habits and vomiting does not explain any of the other oropharyngeal symptoms, nor any of the other reported physiological problems.

6.3 The End of the Road?

The factors outlined in Table 6.4 below,²⁵⁶ are to be found in the sources on Claudius. It is doubtful that all symptoms can be proved consistently over time and beyond doubt. Alternatively the concurrence of Claudius' symptoms with the list from 1-11 (amalgamated from Silver's two lists) presents formidable evidence of Post-Polio Syndrome. Claudius rings all eleven bells at least to some degree if one accepts a period of stability after the acute infection. This allows for the descriptions in Seneca, Suetonius or Dio to represent what are in effect new symptoms, or new occurrences of the results of polio.

#	Signs for diagnosis of post polio syndrome	Rating
1	New swallowing problems	1
2	New respiratory problems	1
3	Unaccustomed fatigue	1
4	Cold intolerance	1
5	The patient must have had some improvement in strength after the initial paralysis	1
6	The patient must present with new symptoms that are consistent with PPS and not attributable to another disease.	1
7	There must have been a period of stability at least one or two decades, where no new symptoms present themselves	2
8	The patient must have a known history of polio	3
9	New weakness	4
10	New muscle atrophy	4
11	Muscular pain	5

Figure 6.4: Amalgamation of factors required to produce a diagnosis of post-polio (identified by Silver). The rating given above refers to the strength of evidence in the sources (1 high - 5 low), as defined by this thesis.

²⁵⁶ Silver (2001) p.18 lists these factors in a different order, one suited to modern testing. Silver does not use a numerical rating for each symptom.

The weakest piece of evidence is determining muscular pain, mainly because there is nowhere that states that a limb is painful. It may be possible that the reported tremor reflects muscular pain and a difficulty moving, but it is impossible to say if that was the case. The only specific reference to pain is stomach pain, and that is not the same as muscular pain. It may be that any pain was minimised by Claudius' reduced activity – sitting down in the senate and the court, and being carried in a litter. It is not something that would be noticeable to a bystander unless it was debilitating, or would now require painkillers. Unfortunately there seems to be no evidence reproduced by a source using a physician's account. The onset of new muscle atrophy is difficult to discern. Muscle atrophy in the right leg is attested by the numismatic evidence, and Seneca's description of the motion of dragging the leg may concur with muscle weakness but not necessary atrophy. It is likely that atrophy is a result of the initial acute infection, but there is no evidence that this is new. The coins are dated towards the beginning of Claudius' principate, and it reduces the possibility of the atrophy being new - it is more likely to be a well-known feature of the new *princeps*.

New weakness presents similar difficulties but this can be connected to the evident fatigue, so even though there is no first hand account of new weakness, there is secondary evidence via the descriptions of fatigue. It is hard to quantify the degree of weakness, and the childhood ailments that restricted Claudius to spending time with Livia and Antonia, probably indoors, might be to allow rest and long-term recovery. Accounts of later fatigue and the connected (albeit unreported) weakness are probably not the same as the childhood difficulties because of the events around the accession suggests there is less prominence given to fatigue as a factor by the sources. The portrait, although sketchy in places, is not one of a man whose health is failing him, therefore new weakness would appear later in his life. Josephus reports Claudius' legs giving way due to the emotional load but there is no indication prior to that of any weakness.

A known history of polio and a period of stability with no new symptoms during that time, are interconnected points. They are also, in effect, cross-referencing; there is a period of stability after recovery from the childhood illness to the late-onset of symptoms consistent with PPS. The stable period helps to rule out many of the neurological diseases that have no remission, and reduces the plausibility of a late-onset disease as the prognosis is grave in a very short timescale. Working on the premise of trying to produce a diagnosis that yields the simple answer with the least number of variables, and having symptoms that are concurrent with the acute polio infection, one can construct a reasonable argument for a period of stability, and although being used retrospectively, that period also helps to confirm the childhood or adolescent polio. The new symptoms that are consistent with PPS have been described in section 6.2 and therefore in this case they are not attributable to another disease, especially as the differential diagnosis has eliminated the other possibilities in the discussion of chapter 5.

There is no single factor that proves Claudius had polio as a child, but the cluster of late symptoms point to polio being the initial acute infection, and therefore being consistent with one of Claudius' childhood illnesses. Claudius must have had some improvement in strength after the initial paralysis, in terms of mobility by being able to walk otherwise he would still have been bedridden. He would have recovered from the acute phase and part of the recovery is muscle re-ennervation, and consequently the regaining the use of limbs to some degree. The numismatic iconography adds weight to the fact that he was standing and using the atrophied leg, as well as taking part in his triumph riding on a chariot. Claudius did not remain bedridden as a result of the initial infection, nor was the attack terminal. The remaining factors of new swallowing problems, new respiratory problems, unaccustomed fatigue and cold intolerance have been discussed extensively throughout chapters 4 and 6, and I advocate that there is substantial evidence of these conditions.

The death of Claudius may have some clues for the diagnosis of polio. However it would require a digression to offer a comprehensive examination of the scenario around the death of Claudius; but a diagnosis confirming PPS would change the

possibilities for the cause of death,²⁵⁷ and I therefore propose that this opens up new avenues for further research.²⁵⁸

Arriving at a single conclusion is not easy because the evidence is multi-layered; without Seneca the main bulk of the physical descriptions would lie with the work Suetonius, and if that were so we would have nothing concrete on which to base the diagnosis. The portrait in one respect is too messy and disjointed, and is corrupted by the physiognomist's desire to prove a moral point using physical factors. Dio confirms the portrayal but confuses it to the extent that it is nearly worthless for this analysis, if the description is handled without the other sources it could lead to a serious diversion. Josephus is writing about the assassination of Gaius, and the personal information about Claudius seems rather inconsequential, and for that reason and in this instance may be more reliable, regardless of the historiographical problems. Juvenal ploughs his own furrow, although he provides physiognomical links to Seneca and Suetonius, which are very useful connections, and satire allows potentially new lines of enquiry. Tacitus is unfortunately of little value because the chapters required have not survived.

What can be drawn from this analysis is that by deconstructing the sources, one can test the separate pieces of evidence against current medical knowledge without

²⁵⁷ V.J.Marmion, T.E.J. Wiedemann, 'The Death of Claudius', 2002 p.260-1, conclude that Claudius was not poisoned but shows symptoms of whose 'features are consistent with sudden death from cerebrovascular disease, which was common in Roman times'. Also see W.A. Valente, R.J.A. Talbert, J.P. Hallett, P.A. Mackowiak, 'Caveat Cenas', 2002 p.392-8; V. Grimm-Samuel, 'On the Mushroom that deified the emperor Claudius, 1991 p.178-182; L. Cilliers, F.P. Retief, Poisons, 'Poisoning and the Drug trade in Ancient Rome', 2000 p.88-100, mushrooms p. 93, Claudius' death p.90, 98.

²⁵⁸ The death of Franklin D. Roosevelt is comprehensively analysed by R.H.Ferrell, *The Dying President, Franklin D. Roosevelt 1944-1945*, 1998. Roosevelt contracted polio at age 39 and died of a subarachnoid haemorrhage caused by cardiovascular disease (for the diagnosis see Ferrell p.27-46, and the final months p.98ff.) and Ferrell's case study may provide a useful benchmark to challenge the orthodox view of poisoning being responsible for Claudius' death. Also see R. T. Goldberg, *The Making of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Triumph over Disability*, 1981 a study in rehabilitation and management of disability, see p.203-4 for cerebral haemorrhage. There are parallels that require further research but the following description could have been written about Claudius by Seneca for example: 'Truman noted the shaking hands of Roosevelt, 'I had no idea he was in such a feeble condition. In pouring cream in his tea, he got more cream in the saucer than he did in the cup. His hands are shaking and he talks with considerable difficulty....It doesn't seem to be any mental lapse of any kind, but physically he's just going to pieces'' (Ferrell p.89 and note 37). Ferrell p.90 produces a word of caution, 'it is possible that Truman's explanation of what happened at the luncheon was mistaken, that Roosevelt's successor read the future into the past'.

affecting the veracity of the source in order to arrive at a plausible diagnosis; one can reconstruct the most likely combination of factors to arrive at a specific illness. This is not an arbitrary exercise that produces a false result, a bogus character, or an artificial pathology. Once the layers have been stripped from the sources, there are two portraits; the physical reality and the literary (influenced by physiognomics), where the latter is deploying a specific system to create the picture. Even though it may present in a sensational fashion it is essentially, and on the balance of probabilities, working with the right components. The arguments outlined in this chapter are in essence unproven because the patient is not available to be examined. Nevertheless, the argument that makes sense of all the evidence does so by utilising the accumulation of probabilities regarding a combination of the disease and the information identified in the sources.

The sheer weight of evidence, in the sources, in current medical knowledge, in the testimony of polio survivors leads to the conclusion that Claudius had childhood acute polio, and suffered the late-onset symptoms of post-polio syndrome. Therefore it is reasonable to advocate that it is a polio survivor who is depicted in the sources.

7. Conclusion: The Germanicus Paradox

A century ago De Coursey Ruth used the phrase 'Superior Degenerate' as one possible description of Claudius' condition,¹ where the classification is used for those who are 'incapable of practising regularly any profession or of accomplishing anything worth while'.² An alternative angle on the same outlook was provided two generations later by Leon's proposal that Claudius may be similar in character to Brutus, being 'gold covered in horn'.³ Both concepts convey the difficulty scholarship has had trying to reconcile the two sides to Claudius, the apparent lack of mental and physical suitability on the one hand and good government on the other.

This study has resolutely steered clear of trying to judge Claudius' mental faculties on the evidence provided by a character assassination in the sources. The aim has been to re-evaluate aspects of Claudius to shed more light on his life; the intention has not been to write a biography but to examine aspects that will penetrate the paradox. The first chapter produces evidence that Tiberius Claudius Drusus born in 10BC was later to become Tiberius Germanicus, a name that Claudius retained for the rest of his life; the imperial appellations of Caesar and Augustus were only insertions and did not change his basic identity. The use of the *nomen gentilicium* Claudius does not seem to have been a factor in terms of personal identity; it was not a diacritic and did not signify Ti. Germanicus.⁴

The use of narrative shorthand for the names of emperors in the sources is understandable up to a point, but it does not reflect reality, it is not authentic yet all subsequent writers have taken the shorter names on board. For Claudius this has a secondary effect because of the etymology and meaning as "limp", or "lameness",

¹ Superior degenerates are those 'who, although intelligent and sometimes even brilliant, are nevertheless lacking in some points, and who have certain defects which may be expressed by a lack of harmony and balance between their various faculties and propensities', De Coursey Ruth p.135.

² De Coursey Ruth p.135.

³ Leon p.86.

⁴ The technically correct use of Tiberius Claudius Caesar distinguished Claudius from Tiberius on official on official documents and inscriptions.

which maybe converted into a primary signifier of the lame emperor, and may have had similar connotations to the modern "lame duck". Every mention of "Claudius" signals lameness, and when coupled with the accusation of having wayward mental faculties, then the portrayal is negative - the name "Claudius" may have become an enthymeme in its own right.

Ancient and modern preconceptions about the name Germanicus lead one to assume it could not possibly refer to Claudius, but only to the pre-eminent heir and superman of his age, Claudius' brother. In the reality of the proper chronological context Germanicus does refer specifically to Claudius (just as Ti. Germanicus is unique to Claudius). The sources doggedly stick to the line that Claudius is not called Germanicus, and Suetonius especially with his access to the imperial records, would have known this was not the case.

The scenario offered by the sources for the accession suffers from substantial revisionism; Suetonius does not replicate the specific chain of events in Josephus' version, and Dio is cursory in the extreme – but all claim that Claudius owes his position entirely to the Praetorian Guard. After the murder of Gaius in AD41, regardless of modern conspiracy theories implicating Claudius, as long as he was alone he was vulnerable to assassination. Claudius challenges Gratus in order to find out which group the soldier represents and makes a judgement call on his own safety.

Chapter two demonstrates that in all the confusion, while the imperial bodyguard (the *Germani*) wreaked vengeance on the Palatine after the assassination of Gaius, that Claudius was found by one of his own German guards, Gratus. The Praetorians, usually attributed with finding Claudius, were able to consider his suitability as *princeps* in debate and were not bounced into it by a few guards who allegedly acclaimed him in the palace. This is critical in the acceptance of Claudius as a genuine candidate; it is difficult to imagine in the fevered atmosphere on the Palatine how he could be presented to the body of the Praetorians as the new *princeps*, by a few *gregarii milites*. Why should the mass of soldiers arguing and shouting over what to do next accept the choice of a handful of the lower ranks? If the *Germani*

protected Claudius then he was untouchable, and the Praetorians were not forced to choose, so why would they have chosen a dribbling idiot? The coins issued early in Claudius' reign depicting the new *princeps* and a figure representing the Praetorians, demonstrate the outcome of the events surrounding the murder of Gaius. The orthodox interpretation is that Claudius was in debt to the Praetorians for his elevation to *princeps*. However, the new interpretation of these coins, discussed in chapter two, suggests Claudius is shown on the same groundline as the soldier, because he is at the centre of the empire. In effect, he is standing between the army, the people and the senate, at the heart of *SPQR*.

Chapter three discusses the version of the accession reproduced by Suetonius who inserts a dramatic scenario for the accession that makes it farcical, recalling a contemporary mime probably based on the *Pro Caelio* of Cicero. Claudius behind the curtain is a brilliant visual invention, theatrical shorthand for the events on the Palatine that reflects the weakness of the *princeps*; the efficiency of this construct is witnessed by its longevity. The decision Suetonius made to include it in his version of events was either calculated to bury Claudius' reputation or may demonstrate a lack of judgement by the author. The problem Suetonius creates is that he portrays a weak, timid and virtually useless man; why on earth would the soldier who found him choose Claudius and not just kill him? If this version were based on a comic invention then Claudius' exaggerated reactions would fit the conventions of a mime performance, where parody can be appropriate.

The evidence discussed in chapters four, five and six leads to a diagnosis of childhood polio which allows for an optimistic prognosis for Claudius. Accordingly he would have grown up with the relatively less serious results of the poliovirus and not the symptoms portrayed in the sources which claim Claudius was ill all his life. The progress of the muscle weakness that eventually has severe consequences for polio survivors would not have begun to deteriorate until after Claudius was chosen to be *princeps*. For many years after he would probably have had muscle atrophy, as depicted on the coins from Ephesus and Amphipolis, and a limp, as a result of the initial acute poliovirus attack. The overuse of all the axons and muscle fibres making up for those lost to the poliovirus would have resulted in Claudius' outward

normality eventually sliding into all the difficulties associated with Post Polio Syndrome; these later difficulties are the symptoms presented synchronically by Seneca, Suetonius, Juvenal and Dio. Seneca wrote the *Apocolocyntosis* to be performed early in Nero's reign, and for Claudius to be recognisable to the audience it would make little sense, and carry little satirical bite or contrast to the new regime if he was portrayed as a relatively fit man (from earlier in his life). The end of Claudius' life is shrouded in mystery and intrigue, with many claims for poisoning, but little to substantiate this other than a literary murder, contrasted with a long illness.⁵

The formulaic treatment of Claudius by the sources demonstrates the excuse used to explain Claudius' exclusion from public life, one 'that has passed into historical tradition and become a commonplace – Claudius' ill health, the bodily and mental infirmity which disfigured his outward appearance and made him clumsy and absurd'.⁶ Momigliano recognises that there is evidence in the sources on Claudius that would refute this in terms of practicalities such as representing the equestrians, or travelling to Gaius on behalf of the senate. Momigliano proposes that the balance between the *princeps* and the old Republican families, successfully negotiated by Augustus, balancing reform and conservatism,⁷ was upset when Claudius pushed the reform side of the equation alone. The failed attempts to include the conservative element meant he did not take the senate with him, and that in turn saw only 'hypocritical reverence for tradition and autocratic licence';⁸ and Seneca pushes the clash in the shape of a failed imitator of Augustus in *Apocolocyntosis*. Momigliano's conclusion seems reasonable, that the enmity towards Claudius was the fallout from the hatred felt for Nero, and Claudius through his weak handling of the succession had thrust Nero upon Rome.⁹ Freudenburg writes of an insatiable public appetite for

⁵ The final months of Franklin D. Roosevelt, a polio survivor who died of cardiovascular problems, are similar in character to Claudius' death. For Roosevelt's symptoms see R.H. Ferrell, *The Dying President*, 1998 especially p.65ff. The marked similarities between the deaths of Claudius and FDR require further research.

⁶ Momigliano p.2.

⁷ Momigliano p.74.

⁸ Momigliano p.74.

⁹ Momigliano p.74-5; a point rammed home by Suetonius and Dio where Claudius was under the control of his freedmen and wives.

monsters and the demonising of monsters such as Nero and Domitian in the reign of Trajan.¹⁰ Nevertheless, neither conclusion satisfactorily explains the paradox.

The sources have taken all the physical factors that affected Claudius and basically run riot – Suetonius and Dio especially have collapsed time sequences to produce a synchronic and therefore a warped picture, albeit one that will fit into their structural models. The medical sections are brief but full of detail. Modern scholarship has acknowledged the paradox between the grotesque description in the sources of Claudius' illness, and undoubted abilities as *princeps*, but they have not moved any further than recognition of its existence, and by doing so accept the ostensible truth of the absurd picture of Claudius in the sources.

This thesis argues for a fundamental re-evaluation of aspects of Claudius' life. When Claudius was born he was a normal healthy infant, he recovered from childhood polio; he had a stutter; and was probably chosen by the Praetorians because of his brother Germanicus, his father Drusus, his uncle Tiberius, all good army men; furthermore because of his non-imperial status he had connections to all sections of society, the senate, equestrians and the army so he would have a wide and potent network of *amici*. These are the circumstances by which he became emperor. The deteriorating effects of Post Polio Syndrome came later in his principate, once his reign had been secured. This conclusion does not require a dramatic re-assessment of the sources because in this reconstruction of the evidence the sources begin to make sense. When viewed in this new light the life and principate look very different; and the paradox of Tiberius Germanicus is not so much resolved as denied. There was no paradox.

¹⁰ K.Freudenburg, *The Satires of Rome*, 2001 p.215-234.

Appendix 2.1: The Problem of Philip Arrhidaeus

The possibility of a parallel account, or one where the description of the accession and the personality of Philip Arrhidaeus bears similarities to Claudius, is exposed in Quintus Curtius Rufus' *History of Alexander*. This section will offer a brief discussion of scholarship and the feasibility of Curtius' links to Claudius, and add some comment on the parallels. Martin examines how Curtius gradually reveals Arrhidaeus' capabilities as he attempts to preserve his own life after the death of Alexander in 323BC.¹ Arrhidaeus is proposed as the only valid successor by an ordinary soldier, *cum quidam plerisque Macedonum ignotus ex infima plebe*.² This intervention, demonstrating that Arrhidaeus was the sole heir, as son of Philip and brother of Alexander, prevented any escalation to civil war, because the soldiers with Meleager fell silent, then called with one voice for Arrhidaeus to be summoned. Curtius' description of the heir is far from positive, *si Alexandro similem quaeritis numquam reperietis; si proximum, hic solus est*.³ Martin concludes that the occurrence of the *ignotus* in Curtius' account cannot be historically accurate,⁴ but introduced to add drama to the idea that democracy is subjected to the impulses of the multitude. Similar factors to the accession of Claudius in Josephus are present in Curtius; Claudius being carried off by the troops Jos.*Bel. Iud.* II.204 corresponds to Arrhidaeus being hauled before the army by Meleager in order for the soldiers to judge who should be king, *sibimet ipsis potissimum crederent*.⁵ It is worth bearing in mind that Perdiccas and Leonnatus had been appointed guardians for Roxane's unborn son, and Craterus and Antipater would direct affairs in the West; an oath was enforced to serve Alexander's son, *tum iusiurandum a singulis exactum, futuros in potestate regis geniti Alexandro*.⁶ The troops discuss the options, but decide on following a royal connection, even though Arrhidaeus was worried by the *principum auctoritate conterritus*. The similarity is general and not specific point by point.

¹ T.R.Martin 'Quintus Curtius' Presentation of Philip Arrhidaeus and Josephus accounts of the Accession of Claudius' (1983) p.161-190.

² Curtius.*Alex.*X.7.1.

³ Curtius.*Alex.*X.7.2.

⁴ Martin (1983) p.163.

⁵ Curtius *Alex.*X.7.10.

⁶ Curtius.*Alex.*X.7.9.

Martin's second similarity is the intervention of the *ignotus* who proposes Arrhidaeus during the first debate on the available options after Alexander's death,⁷ to the soldier who calls for Claudius during the debate in the Senate.⁸ This scene is not included in *Antiquities*, where the second meeting of the Praetorians results in a rejection of democratic and senatorial government, and a preference for the Julio-Claudian who will pay them well. Further similarities outlined with *Antiquities* are both men fear for their lives,⁹ the transition from report for Praetorian support for Claudius to opposition to the senate, and soldiers wanting Arrhidaeus in preference to the plans of the generals;¹⁰ the near refusal to continue as king or princeps, troops refusal of the former,¹¹ and Agrippa persuaded Claudius to continue in power;¹² the fickle nature of the troops;¹³ the failure of the demagogues Chaerea and Meleager¹⁴ and their executions;¹⁵ the purge of the armed forces afterwards.¹⁶ Although Martin does not examine the dynamics of the assemblies nor any chronological problems within Josephus, this does make comparison a somewhat easier task.

While looking for connections between Curtius and Josephus, Martin proposes and identifies the possibility that the executions, purges and the debating assemblies 'are certainly historical, pure coincidence explains the occurrence of these similarities'.¹⁷ However it may be borne out by further study that these authors are reporting on the very nature of a fractured succession and power struggle hence, the 'inevitable' similarities. Martin focuses on the *ignotus* episode as the key to explaining why Curtius and Josephus have these similarities. The idea that Curtius had read the

⁷ Martin (1983) p.176ff.; Curtius *Alex.*X.7.1-3.

⁸ *Jos.Bel.Iud.*2,211-12.

⁹ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.216-20; Curtius *Alex.*X.7.13.

¹⁰ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.227; Curtius *Alex.*X.7.8.

¹¹ Curtius *Alex.*X.8.19.

¹² *Jos.Ant.*XIX.238.

¹³ Curtius *Alex.*X.7.11-12, *Jos.Ant.*XIX.188,249,254,259

¹⁴ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.254-9, Curtius *Alex.*X.7.5-7.

¹⁵ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.268-71, Curtius *Alex.*X.9,20-1.

¹⁶ *Jos.Ant.*XIX.274. Curtius *Alex.*X.9.16-19; for a more expansive discussion on these points see Martin (1983) p.179-81.

¹⁷ Martin (1983) p.180.

Jewish War is rejected not on chronological grounds, but on the differing treatment of the account of Alexander and the Samaritans;¹⁸ the alternative, that Josephus read Curtius' report of Arrhidaeus accession is also rejected because of the Alexander problem, and that of Josephus' scant use of Latin sources.¹⁹ This also reduces the possibility that a Latin source on Claudius' accession was the inspiration for Josephus' inclusion of the *ignotus* motif (but this ignores the possible sources used later by Suetonius and Do).

The answer is to treat both accounts as separate.²⁰ Agrippa II recounted one version to Josephus, and one would agree with Martin (p.182) that there is no reason to assume that this version is not fairly accurate as the sequence of events makes sense; the soldier's appeal is to his comrades and this persuades them to switch sides, he does not address the Senate nor affect their discourse (although their desertion certainly would). Martin concludes that because the version in Curtius is so implausible, where a trooper inspires the assembled Macedonian army to take control, in opposition to the attendant generals, that 'we do have sufficient reason to believe that an ordinary soldier played the role of a catalyst to Claudius' advantage at a critical point in the tumultuous events which culminated in the accession of Claudius in AD41'.²¹ That Josephus concentrates on the effects of Chaerea's speech to the troops as being the decisive factor for their desertion, may be because the initial version in the Jewish War was less plausible or just plainly inaccurate; *Antiquities* demonstrates a very different dynamic, which if combined with the Jewish War may give the whole story, where the *ignotus* is one part of the reaction to Chaerea's exhortation. One would not expect the reaction and comment of every trooper to be recorded; it would certainly make for dull and repetitive reading, and would only detract from the drama of the scene.

¹⁸ Martin (1983) p.180.

¹⁹ Martin (1983) p.181; also see note 25, and Feldman for discussion on Josephus' sources.

²⁰ Martin (1983) p.181-2.

²¹ Martin (1983) p.182.

The reasons for Curtius introducing the *ignotus* motif may include invention, although that seems unlikely, especially as he gives Arrhidaeus a more prominent role than other historians do.²² If Curtius was writing during Claudius' reign, then the parallel between the emperor and the Macedonian king would be obvious as 'both had been allegedly feeble-minded members of the royal family whom their relatives had relegated to obscurity, but the army had unexpectedly raised to throne at a time of near civil war'.²³ One view is that Arrhidaeus was a reflection of Claudius, but Martin makes more sense when he states the *princeps* of *Alex.X.9.3-6* does not equate with Arrhidaeus, and the contrast is that the latter only briefly unifies the army, while the *princeps* preserves the unity of the Roman state.²⁴ Any superficial resemblance between the two rulers (early obscurity, promotion by the army) disintegrates as events progress.

The question of why the mental impairment of Arrhidaeus is suppressed in Curtius could be because 'intellectual incapacity represented too explosive an issue to raise. Curtius therefore skated around it';²⁵ alternatively it may not have been a real issue concerning Claudius, and that would therefore make drawing a parallel difficult if one of the factors was unrecognisable. The members of the senate clearly knew that Claudius was not mentally defective, as was demonstrated by his consulship and their negotiating with him after the murder of Gaius; the *equites* knew he was reliable when they asked him to be their representative in Tiberius' principate. It is only the stereotype of the stutterer that they are dim-witted and slow, which would fit, but this can be discounted here on two counts. Those who knew Claudius would know otherwise, and it is the later sources that expand on the idea/prejudice that stuttering and stupidity go hand-in-hand – there is no evidence that it was prominent during Claudius' principate in direct reference to Claudius himself. Curtius' portrayal would sit alongside the Claudius in Seneca's *ad Polybium*, and possibly *de Constantia*. Either both are sycophantic and therefore unreliable, or they reflect

²² Martin (1983) p.182 and note 30; J.E. Atkinson, *A Commentary on Q. Curtius Rufus Historiae Alexandri Magni Books 3 and 4*, 1980 p.38-9, 49-50.

²³ Martin (1983) p.182.

²⁴ Martin (1983) p.183.

²⁵ Martin (1983) p.183.

reality, and if so then Curtius would have to suppress Arrhidaeus' mental impairment in his account in order to make a valid comparison with Claudius. The assumption is that the portrait of Claudius in *Apocolocyntosis*, Suetonius and Dio is relevant for Curtius, but does not necessarily have to be the case, especially as it is likely he was writing before the aforementioned sources. Curtius may reflect contemporary (if exaggerated) views, whilst the later writers display anti-Claudian tendencies regarding his character and physiology.

The proposal that Curtius wrote under Claudius allows him to be present at the debate in AD41 where the soldier had such an impact on the urban cohorts that they deserted the Senate, and this gave him the idea to include in his account of the earlier accession of Arrhidaeus 'whose similarity to the accession of Claudius no contemporary could overlook'.²⁶ Martin concludes that Curtius' and Josephus' accounts are similar because of 'coincidence of literary devices or from the coincidence of similar historical events', but the *ignotus* occurrence is due to Curtius' knowledge of Claudius' accession.²⁷ Even though his account exaggerates the influence of the soldier, it could be that both writers are building on the skeleton of the same event; Josephus relatively accurately and Curtius more dramatically.

The dating of Quintus Curtius Rufus has provided a question that has provoked much argument. Hamilton initially reduces the range of disputed emperors that Curtius wrote under to Augustus, Claudius and Vespasian; he rejects Augustus because of Curtius using the defence of M. Terentius in AD32 in a speech by Amyntas.²⁸ He cites the proposal by Wiedemann that Seneca had read Curtius, and if that was true then as Seneca committed suicide in AD65, Curtius could not have written under Vespasian and the *princeps* in Book X is therefore Claudius.²⁹ The following

²⁶ Martin (1983) p.183.

²⁷ Martin (1983) p.183 and note 32.

²⁸ Curtius *Alex.* VII.1.26; J.R. Hamilton 'The Date of Quintus Curtius Rufus', 1988 p.446 and note 11.

²⁹ Hamilton (1988) p.447.

discourse convincingly lays out the evidence that a source for Seneca's *Epistles* 56 and 59 that dealt with Alexander was Curtius' *Historiae*.³⁰

Devine also tackles the question of the date of Quintus Curtius Rufus,³¹ and he concentrates on the imperial panegyric at *Alex.X.ix.1-7*. The contrast between the empire of Alexander being ripped apart and the continuity and power of the Roman state provides a *terminus ante quem non* with Augustus. If Curtius is commenting on the avoidance of a civil war in Rome then candidates for the panegyric could be Claudius or Galba (the sense of the passage does not seem to imply an actual civil war which would place in the frame Augustus, Vespasian, Septimius Severus or Constantine amongst others).³² Devine constructs the case for a *terminus post quem non* being the reign of Trajan,³³ using Curtius' description of Alexander advancing into Parthia as the launchpad for a discourse into the difficulties of recognising Parthia as an entity after Trajan because of Roman incursion and subsequent imperial policy decisions.³⁴

There are records of only two men who may be Curtius before Trajan, and they have been tagged by Sumner.³⁵ One is as the rhetorician in Suetonius' *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* who would be working between the time of Augustus and Claudius.³⁶ The career of the other is described by Tacitus³⁷ – a career as a praetor interrupted during the reign of Tiberius, only for it to resume under Claudius where he eventually reached proconsul by the end of that principate.³⁸ Sumner proposes that the rhetor Q. Curtius Rufus and the consul Curtius Rufus are the same person and Barbieri's work identifying the suffect-consul of AD43 as a Q. Curtius Rufus helps

³⁰ Hamilton (1988) p.453ff.

³¹ A.M. Devine, 'The Parthi, the Tyranny of Tiberius and the Date of Q. Curtius Rufus', 1979 p.142-59.

³² Devine p.142 also see note 1, for an exhaustive bibliography on the Curtius question.

³³ Devine (1979) p.144-147.

³⁴ Curtius.*Alex.* VI.1.12.

³⁵ G.V Sumner, 'Curtius Rufus and the *Historiae Alexandri*' *AUMLA* 15 (1961) 35-9.

³⁶ Devine (1979) p.148, Sumner (1961) p.35.

³⁷ *Ann.* 11.20.4-21.4; also see Pliny *Epist.* 7.27.2-3.

³⁸ Devine (1979) p.148.

to push the argument for his authorship of the *Historiae*.³⁹ The idea that the *Historiae* reflects Curtius' own rise and fall (written after a 'retirement' from climbing the career ladder forced on him by Tiberius for being identified as an inactive supporter of Sejanus in AD31 and finished under Claudius)⁴⁰ and the proposal that it was the inclusion of the 'judicious piece of adulation'⁴¹ that brought Curtius to the attention of the *princeps*, seems uncertain. Curtius had probably been effectively relegated to exactly the same backwaters as Claudius had inhabited for most of his life. Their paths would cross at least when Claudius was consul, so it is likely that Curtius was reminding Claudius of his existence when he wrote the panegyric in Book X.

Devine (p.150ff.) proceeds to survey the evidence for parallels between the reign of Tiberius, and that of Alexander in Curtius; he cites the similarity of the speech defending Amyntas,⁴² and that of M.Terentius,⁴³ which Curtius would have heard after the downfall of Sejanus – so Alexander reprises the role of Tiberius.⁴⁴ Another similarity is the fate of C. Asinius Gallus⁴⁵ and that of Philotas,⁴⁶ a parallel account of a *dissimulatio* that does not occur in other sources for Alexander.⁴⁷ Numismatic evidence provides a list of virtues linked to Tiberius' principate, *clementia*, *moderatio*, *pietas*, *iustitia* and *providential*,⁴⁸ which are all, bar the last, applied to Alexander by Curtius.⁴⁹

One of the virtues Curtius applies to Alexander before the king's 'good' character disintegrates is *constantia*, a virtue that is the sole preserve of Claudius.⁵⁰ Curtius

³⁹ Sumner 1961) p.35-6, 39 ; Devine(1979) note29, also on p.148 cites G.Barbieri *AttiLinc* ser.8.30. (1975) p153-7, '*I consoli del'anno 43d.c.*'.

⁴⁰ Devine (1979) p.149.

⁴¹ Devine(1979) p.150.

⁴² Curtius.*Alex.*VII.1.19-40.

⁴³ Dio 58.19.3-4; Tac.*Ann.*6.8.2-11.

⁴⁴ Devine (1979) p153.

⁴⁵ Dio 58.3.2-3.

⁴⁶ Curtius.*Alex.*VI.8.16.

⁴⁷ Devine (1979) p.154.

⁴⁸ see Devine (1979) p.155 and notes 48-52.

⁴⁹ see Devine (1979) note53 for examples.

⁵⁰ See *BMC Imp* I. Claudius nos 1,11-15, 109-111, 140-2, 199-201; also Devine (1979) note 56; Curtius.*Alex.*V.7.1.

ranks *constantia* alongside *clementio* and *moderatio*, which are shaken in Alexander 'by an excess of *Fortuna*, sullied *vini cupiditate*, and transmuted into *ira*, *superbia* and *lascivia* – all of them reputed Tiberian vices'.⁵¹

Devine's conclusion states the view that veiled allusions to emperors in literary works (and on the stage) seems to have been common in the first century AD.⁵²

Although Curtius was not writing a polemic against Tiberius,⁵³ he took the opportunity to exploit some inherent similarities in the characteristics of Alexander and Tiberius⁵⁴ – 'And though Curtius *Historiae Alexandri* is much more than just a veiled portrait of the emperor, Tiberius' role as a basic source of inspiration seems to be clear'.⁵⁵

Curtius.Alex.X.9.3-6:

Proinde iure meritoque populus Romanus salutem se principi suo debere profitetur, qui noctis quam paene supremam habuimus novum sidus illuxit. Huius, hercule, non solis, ortus lucem caliganti reddidit mundo, cum sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent. Quot ille tum exstinxit faces! Quot condidit gladios! Non ergo revirescit solum, sed etiam floret imperium. Absit modo invidia, excipiet huius saeculi tempora eisdem domus utinam perpetua, certe diuturna posteritas.

'Therefore the Roman people rightly and deservedly assert that it owes its safety to its prince, who in the night which was almost our last shone forth like a new star. (See Sen. *Ad Poly.*32; Livy.VI.17.4; Tac.*Hist.*1.11, for metaphor in *sidus*; from Rolfe/Loeb p.546 note d). The rising of this star, by Heaven! Rather than that of the sun restored light to the world in darkness, since lacking their head the limbs were thrown into disorder. How many firebrands did it extinguish! How many swords did it sheath! How great a tempest did it dispel with sudden prosperity! Therefore our empire not only lives afresh but even flourishes. Provided only that the divine jealousy be absent, the posterity of that same house will continue the good times of our age, it is hoped forever, at any rate for very many years'.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Devine (1979) p.156, and notes 56-61 for references in Curtius, Tacitus and Suetonius.

⁵² Devine (1979) p.157 and notes 70-1.

⁵³ 'the work is far too elaborate, well-researched, and lengthy for that' Devine (1979) p.157; for a rebuttal where Curtius is charged as unreliable, see P.Mckechnie 'Manipulation of Themes in Quintus Curtius Book 10', 1999 p.44-60, following W.W.Tarn *Alexander the Great*, 1948 p.91-116.

⁵⁴ For an outline of these characteristics, see Devine (1979) p.157 and notes 72-80.

⁵⁵ Devine (1979) p.159.

⁵⁶ Trans. Rolfe, Curtius.Alex.X.9.3-6 p547.

It is possible that Curtius wrote this panegyric after the revolt of AD42, which removed the last remnants of the rivals to Claudius, and meant that there was less to threaten the principate. Therefore he could write about hope for stability in the future, but referring to the possibility that it would be limited by Claudius' age. Seneca also wrote his *consolatio ad Polybium* after AD41 whilst in exile, which contains much praise of Claudius, and where there is no mention of any physical or mental defects.⁵⁷

There is a possible interpretation that Curtius wrote sympathetically of Arrhidaeus not because he dare not offend the *princeps*, but because he thought well of Claudius, which is reflected in his portrayal of the Macedonian.

⁵⁷ Also see Sen.*de Brevitate Vitae* for possible derogatory allusions to Claudius' devotion to study. In addition see Sen.*Epist.* 91 for any reference linking destruction of Lyon to Claudius; written cAD62?

Appendix 2.2: The Horseguards

Julius Briganticus, a Batavian, was prefect of an *ala*, who surrendered to Caecina. Briganticus commanded a squadron of picked horsemen, which was originally formed by Vitellius and later joined the opposing forces of Vespasian,⁵⁸ *accessit ala Singularium excita olim a Vitellio, deinde in partis Vespasiani transgressa*. This unit demonstrates the ability to back the winner.

Briganticus was killed fighting against his uncle Civilis; *in quis Briganticus praefectus alae ceciderat, quem Romanis et Civilis avunculo infensum diximus. Sed ubi Cerialis cum delecto equitum manu subvenit, versa fortuna praecipites Germani in amnem aquantur*.⁵⁹ The *alae*, would be connected to an auxiliary cohort, would carry the name of the tribe enrolled in the army,⁶⁰ which Tacitus only identifies as *Germani*, and Cerealis led another unit of picked horsemen, in this case most likely to be *speculatores* or another auxiliary cavalry unit. The constant reporting of the *Batavi* on and by the side of the emperor, and in the rise to power of a new emperor, which may have significance in the accession of Claudius.⁶¹

Tiberius sent Drusus to the revolt of the Pannonian legions with two praetorian cohorts; in addition he had Praetorian cavalry and the *Germani*, who formed the imperial bodyguard: *Additur magna pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant; simul praetori praefectus Aelius Seianus*.⁶²

⁵⁸ Tac.*Hist.*4.70; also 2.22; *Singulares* were selected for their horsemanship, and would form the basis of the emperor's bodyguard after Galba had dismissed the *Germani*.

⁵⁹ Tac.*Hist.*5.21.

⁶⁰ Todd p.33.

⁶¹ Tac.*Hist.*1.59,64; II.17,22,27ff,43,46,69,97; IV.12,14-25,28,30,32ff,56,58,61,66,73,77ff,85; V.15ff,19,23ff; Tac.*Ann.*II.6,8,11; for *Germani* Tac.*Ann.*124; XIII.18; XV.58.

⁶² Tac.*Ann.*1.24.

Polybius gives a description of the select units of infantry and cavalry posted near the consul's *praetorium*, which is confirmed by excavations at the camp of Fulvius Nobilior who was stationed in Spain during 153BC.⁶³ Operating on a daily rota, a manipule stood guard around the *praetorium* – the cavalry element was always positioned with the consul. The cavalry were select *custodis corporis* (bodyguards), while the legionaries constituted the *excubiae* (sentries).⁶⁴ The *excubiae* were eventually constituted the Praetorian cohort which became a permanent corps, later to be expanded by Augustus and Antony during the Civil War although there is not sufficient space to address the complex issue of the origins of the guard here.⁶⁵ What is useful to draw out though, is the early delineation of duties which has a bearing on the *Germani* and the hours after the murder of Gaius.

Augustus' organisation of the army brought the Praetorians and Batavians and the *evocati*⁶⁶ under his direct command. Frank relates the outcome to the *princeps* as a general surrounded with his Praetorian troops in the field, where the *evocati* are the general staff, the Praetorians are the household troops for the defence of Rome and the court, and the Batavians guard the palace and the emperor as *corporis custodes*.⁶⁷ The differential is demonstrated immediately after the death of Claudius; Agrippina blocks the palace corridors with *custodes*, and next day the palace gates eventually open for Nero and Burrus to exit, where the praetorians are on watch as *excubiae*.⁶⁸

The Praetorians are *milites* and *excubiae* outside the palace while, inside amongst the guards, the *custodes* will certainly be the *Germani*. There may be some reflection here about absolute trust and loyalty in times of extreme danger and the Germans, it

⁶³ Polyb.6.31; Frank (1969) p.18.

⁶⁴ Frank (1969) p.19; Cic.*Pro Marcello*.10 is cited for the distinction between *excubiae* and *custodes*; also see F.Durry *Les Cohortes Prétoriennes* 1938 p.71-4; A.Passerini 'M.Arrecino Clemente' 1940 p.20-29.

⁶⁵ For a discussion on the identity of Scipio Africanus, who formed the Praetorians as a permanent corps see Frank p.19 note 11; For Augustus and Antony see Appian *Bell.Civ.*3.40; 5.3; Durry p.74-77; Frank (1969) p.20; The bodyguard element is well demonstrated by Caesar's use of Batavians and Spaniards, Suet.*Iul.*8.6.

⁶⁶ For *evocati* see Durry (1938) p.117-126.

⁶⁷ Frank (1969) p.20ff.

⁶⁸ Tac.*Ann.*12.68-9; see Frank (1969) p.22-3.

seems, could be trusted. The scenario points to one of two outcomes; either the *Germani* blocked all access to the dying *princeps*, or the Praetorians blocked all the passages to prevent the Germans running amok as they had after the murder of Gaius. It is after Nero is transported to the Praetorian camp and after he promised them money that he was saluted *imperator* – it is maybe worth noting that it required the Praetorian Prefect, Burrus, to instigate the initial enthusiasm for Nero after exiting the palace, as some of the *excubiae* asked on the whereabouts of Britannicus. Subsequently as no support, or rather no lead, was evident they followed the apparent majority. This implies that they expected Britannicus to be the successor. Is this an example of the Praetorians accepting the candidate presented to them as successor, bearing in mind that the ostensible backing of the *Germani* is implicit in the position of Nero?⁶⁹

The Praetorians had their numbers increased from the initial nine cohorts plus three urban cohorts in AD12 under Augustus, to twelve cohorts under Gaius (or Claudius).⁷⁰ From 2BC the Praetorians were under the control of one or two prefects, with each cohort being commanded by a tribune. Under him were a *trecenarius*, the senior centurion, and the centurions who led each century. A legionary cohort numbered six centuries consisting of eighty men, which gave a total strength of 500 men.⁷¹ Although mainly consisting of infantry, the Praetorians had cavalry attachments, *equites*, which were organised in *turmae* of thirty men under an *optio equitum* and one *turmae* per two cohorts is one estimate of their deployment.⁷² The elite cavalry unit was the *speculatores Augusti*,⁷³ the emperor's cavalry bodyguard; these men were still technically attached to their century and cohort even though they

⁶⁹ Frank (1969) p.24 note 2 cites it is the *Germani* who were designated the task of safeguarding the life of the *princeps*; ref to Mommsen GS6 p.17-19. For the semi-combined functions of the Praetorians and horseguards in Rome see Coulston (2000) p.86-89. An alternative concept of ultra separated duties is provided in Frank p.23 who cites an original idea raised by C.Jullian, *Protectoribus et Domesticis Augustorum*, Paris 1883 p.1-2.

⁷⁰ B.Rankov *Guardians of the Roman Empire* 1994 p.7; *OCD*³ p.1241; Coulston p.76-7.

⁷¹ For numbers see Coulston (2000) p.76-81 and fig.5.8; also Rankov (1994) p.7-8.

⁷² Rankov (1994)p.8.

⁷³ Their boots were a specific recognition factor, the *caligula speculatorum*. Rankov (1994) p.8; also see Suet.*Gaius* 52.

operated as a separate unit. Their commander was a *centurio speculatorum*, and possibly was still under the jurisdiction of a tribune.

The Praetorians were recruited mainly from Etruria, Umbria and Latium under Tiberius, and they enrolled for sixteen years service. By AD14 this was for three times the pay of the regulars in the legions.⁷⁴ In addition Tiberius gave a *donatium* of 1000 *denarii* after the death of the Praetorian prefect Sejanus in AD31. On initial acceptance as a *probatus*, several years as a *gregarius miles* would follow, which would explain the interpretation of Suetonius' *gregarius miles* who found Claudius being a Praetorian. Promotion would be to an *immunis*, then a *principalis* which attracted twice the pay – duties included either taking charge of passing the *tessarius* (watchword), or acting as a *signifer*,⁷⁵ or as an *optio* under a centurion. The few who were promoted to *principalis* may have, on being discharged, been appointed an *evocati augusti* by the emperor which extended their career in service as administrators or instructors in Rome. An alternative was to be promoted to the rank of centurion, which a *principalis* could achieve within the standard sixteen years. Further career advancement would be to climb to the post of the senior legionary centurion, *primus pilus*, for one year; then the tribune of the *Vigiles* in Rome, followed by being a tribune of the Urban Cohort, and eventually a tribune of the Praetorian guards.⁷⁶ Other routes were possible, but all the tribunes had extensive military experience. In the supreme command was the Praetorian prefect, who was an *equites*, a 'Roman knight of the highest seniority, ranking second only to the Prefects of Egypt'.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Dury (1938) p.241n2-8 on recruitment beyond the frontiers of Italy into Gaul, Macedonia and Spain after Claudius' edict on the *Anauni*.

⁷⁵ See BMC *Imp* I nos 8-15 p.166, where the Praetorian with Claudius is a *signifer* representing one of the cohorts. The round shield under his right arm and holding a standard identifies the soldier as holding that particular post.

⁷⁶ Rankov (1994) p.9-10; Dury (1938) p.143-4.

⁷⁷ Rankov (1994) p.10, also plate p.51 shows harness fittings from Xanten, Netherlands. The *phalerae* are decorated with imperial busts of Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius – on the latter, the legend above the bust of the emperor is *Plinio Praefecto*, which proclaims that the Elder Pliny was a Praetorian commander during Claudius reign; Dury (1938) p.149ff.

Rankov says the *Germani corporis custodes* 'acted as infantry when on guard at the palace but as cavalry in the field, and were always associated with the Praetorians'.⁷⁸ A *decurio* commanded a *decuria* which was comparable to a *turma* of 30 men; the number of *decuriae* probably varied and, under Nero, were organised as a cohort suggesting equality with the Praetorians in terms of numbers (around 500 men). Nero used the *Germani* alongside cavalry units to hunt down the conspirators involved in the Piso conspirators AD65.⁷⁹ Their physical appearance is shown on a *sestertius* of Nero AD64-6, where the emperor is addressing the armed *Germani* who are depicted with long swords, standards but no armour – their beards are unclear.⁸⁰ They wore a *paenula* (tunic), *caligulae*, crossed belts with a dagger on the left and a *spatha* on the right, and a *sagum* (a military cloak worn by cavalry and officers); the *decuriones* wore the *spatha* on the left side, and as significant identification of rank they wore a red *sagum*.⁸¹

Saddington discusses auxiliary units in Tacitus' *Annals* regarding the forces with Germanicus in AD14,⁸² and examines the *alae* and their cohorts, and concluding that Tacitus' use of *equites*, *eques* and *equitates* can refer to an *ala*, where the two terms can be combined.⁸³ The *alae* were designated by the province from whence they came, as shown by the *Raeticae*.⁸⁴ Alternatively an *alae* could have a 'personal' Roman name, such as *Ala Tauriana*, *Ala Petriana*, *Ala Siliana* (or *Siliani*), *Ala Sebosiana* (or *Sebastianae*) and *Ala Piacentina*.⁸⁵ The *turmae* could be designated with tribal names operating separately within the *alae*, for example the *Trevirorum turmae*.⁸⁶

⁷⁸ Rankov (1994) p.12; Tac.*Ann.*XV.58 where mixed with the other troops were *Germanis, quibus fidebat princeps quasi externis*, 'the Germans, trusted by the emperor because they were foreign', trans. J.Jackson.

⁷⁹ This is a similar action to their action after the death of Gaius, where they hunted down the conspirators in the palace.

⁸⁰ BMC *Imp* I. No. 122, pl.41.5, 303, 304 pl.45.18. See Rankov (1994) plate p32 for evidence of their dress, weapons and beards.

⁸¹ Rankov (1994) p.44.

⁸² D.B. Saddington, *The development of the Roman auxiliary forces from Caesar to Vespasian* : 49 B.C.-A.D. 79, Harare : University of Zimbabwe, 1982 p.27-33.

⁸³ Saddington (1982) p.34-5; for tribal names see p.36-7.

⁸⁴ Tac.*Hist.*1.68.1.

⁸⁵ Saddington (1982) p.39, and note 61.

⁸⁶ Saddington (1982) p.40; Tac.*Hist.*II.14.

Early in the second century BC Roman field commanders selected cavalry and infantry units from the non-Roman allies, these units were the *equites* and the *pedites extraordinarii* who were constantly stationed with the Consul, or a Quaestor, either in the field or in camp.⁸⁷ Speidel proposes that as duties and recruitment followed the same principles in the later empire, these units would be equivalent to the *singulares*, the ones who were 'selected'.⁸⁸ Later, when the Latin/Italian allies became citizens, there was a need to look elsewhere in the *auxilia* for recruits to these units; Speidel cites Petreius using Spanish shield-bearers, the *caetrati*. The *barbarisque equitibus* were Spanish auxiliaries. All were denoted as *beneficariis*, which Speidel identifies as being a general term for soldiers with specific and special duties, and which may in fact be an earlier name used for the later *singulares*.⁸⁹ Germanicus' *delecti equites* in Annals were his *singulares* according to Speidel, but they were organised as an *ala*, which means they may have been an *ala praetorian*.⁹⁰ These *singulares* may have been incorporated into the Praetorians much like the *speculatores* had been, hence the use of the term *ala*. Although they had a much more personal duty to the commander, and it is unlikely they would be operating attached to a cohort, the later first century *singulares* (after AD68/9) were organised as a *numerus* not an *ala*.

⁸⁷ Speidel (1978) p.4-6, also note 6; Polyb.6.31.1-4; Livy.42.58.

⁸⁸ Speidel (1978) p.4.

⁸⁹ Speidel (1978) p.5; for *caetrati* see p.5 note 11. See Coulston (2000) p.96 for *singulares* and *beneficariis*

⁹⁰ Speidel (1978) p.61; Tac.*Ann.*2.16 for *delecti equites*.

Appendix 3.1 Cicero *Pro Caelio* 27.

XXVII. *velut haec tota fabella veteris et plurimarum fabularum poetriae quam est sine argumento, quam nullum invenire exitum potest! quid enim? isti tot viri -- nam necesse est fuisse non paucos ut et comprehendi Licinius facile posset et res multorum oculis esset testatior -- cur Licinium de manibus amiserunt? qui minus enim Licinius comprehendi potuit cum se retraxit ne pyxidem traderet, quam si tradidisset? erant enim illi positi ut comprehenderent Licinium, ut manifesto Licinius teneretur aut cum retineret venenum aut cum tradidisset. hoc fuit totum consilium mulieris, haec istorum provincia qui rogati sunt; quos quidem tu quam ob rem temere prosiluisse dicas atque ante tempus non reperio. fuerant ad hoc rogati, fuerant ad hanc rem conlocati, ut venenum, ut insidiae, facinus denique ipsum ut manifesto comprehenderetur. potueruntne magis tempore prosilire quam cum Licinius venisset, cum in manu teneret veneni pyxidem? quae cum iam erat tradita servis, evasissent subito ex balneis mulieris amici Liciniumque comprehendissent, imploraret hominum fidem atque a se illam pyxidem traditam pernegaret. quem quo modo illi reprehenderent? vidisse se dicerent? primum ad se vocarent maximi facinoris crimen; deinde id se vidisse dicerent quod quo loco conlocati fuerant non potuissent videre. tempore igitur ipso se ostenderunt, cum Licinius venisset, pyxidem expediret, manum porrigeret, venenum traderet. mimi ergo iam exitus, non fabulae; in quo cum clausula non invenitur, fugit aliquis e manibus, dein scabilla concrepant, aulaeum tollitur.*

XXVII. "But how destitute of all proof is the whole of the story of this poetess and inventress of many fables! How totally without any conceivable object or result is it! For what does she say? Why did so numerous a body of men, (for it is clear enough it was not a small number, as it was requisite that Licinius should be arrested with ease, and that the transaction should be more completely proved by the eyewitness of many witnesses,) why, I say, did so numerous a body of men let Licinius escape from their hands? For why was Licinius less liable to be apprehended when he had drawn back in order not to deliver up the box than he would have been if he had delivered it up? For those men had been placed on purpose to arrest Licinius in order that Licinius might be caught in the very fact either of having just delivered up the poison, or of still having it in his possession. This was the whole plan of the woman. This was the part allotted to those men who were asked to undertake it but why it is that they sprung forth so precipitately and prematurely as you say, I do not find stated.

They had been invited for this express purpose they had been placed with this especial object in order to effect the undeniable detection of the poison, of the plot,

and of every particular of the crime. Could they spring forward at a better time than when Licinius had arrived? when he was holding in his hand the box of poison? and if after that box had been delivered to the slaves the friends of the woman had on a sudden emerged from the baths and seized Licinius, he would have implored the protection of their good faith and have denied that that box had been delivered to them by him. And how would they have reproved him? Would they have said that they had seen it? First of all that would have been to bring the imputation of a most atrocious crime on themselves besides, they would be saying that they had seen what from the spot in which they had been placed they could not possibly have seen. Therefore they showed themselves at the very nick of time when Licinius had arrived and was getting out the box, and was stretching out his hand, and delivering the poison. This is rather the end of a farce than a regular comedy; in which, when a regular end cannot be invented for it some one escapes out of some one else's hands, the whistle sounds, and the curtain drops.”

M. Tullius Cicero, *Orationes: Pro Sex. Roscio, De imperio Cn. Pompei, Pro Cluentio, In Catilinam, Pro Murena, Pro Caelio* (ed. Albert Clark C. D. Yonge).

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi->

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Aeschylus *Agamemnon*

(Agamemnon has been murdered. The Chorus splits into twelve separate voices.)

Chorus:¹

Our king cries out in agony! It has been done!
Quickly, we must decide what to do, common action!

I'll tell you this, we should raise the alarm,
get the people to storm the palace!

No! We must go in now, catch them red-handed,
while the blade is still dripping.

Yes, you are right. I vote for action,
let's do it now, there is not time to waste!

Wait! Can't you see what they are doing?
This is the first step towards tyranny.

Come on! We're wasting time, the killers trample caution,
their plans will be well advanced by now.

I don't know what to do, where to turn!
We must have a plan of action.

Yes, I agree, we must first have a plan,
words won't bring the dead back to life.

What! So you would surrender to tyrants,
who defile our royal House, just to live a little longer?

No! Never! I could not bear to suffer that !
I would rather die than be ruled by tyrants!

Wait! Can we assume that the man is dead
on the evidence of these screams?

We should be certain of the truth before we act,
we must not guess, we must be sure.

Then we all agree; we must first discover
how things stand with Agamemnon.

¹ Meineck p.xxxvii-xl on interpreting Aeschylean Choruses P.Meineck trans.
'Agamemnon', *Aeschylus Oresteia*, Hackett, Indianapolis & Cambridge, 1998

Appendix 5, Gait disorders, Cerebellar Diseases, Motor Neuron Diseases

This appendix contains disorders and diseases that at least in part, fit the symptoms of Claudius, and they complete the picture outlined in chapter five. The section on gait disorders is looking specifically at problems with motion and walking, while the section on cerebellar diseases describes the results of inflammation of brain tissue. The motor neuron diseases are late-onset disorders and the discussion concentrates on muscle and limb weakness.

Appendix 5.1 Gait Disorders

1. A Hemiplegic gait, where the leg is moved stiffly and slowly because of no flexion in the hip, knee and ankle, which can be swung outwards in a semicircular arc with the foot turned down and inwards so the outside of the foot and toes scrape the floor – the affected upper limb moves very little during walking, remaining flexed at the elbow and the wrist.¹ The paralysed muscles in polio are a result of spinal anterior horn cell disruption, which means that particular groups of muscles lose voluntary, postural and reflex movements and they can offer reduced or no resistance to stretching – this is flaccid paralysis.² The result for a lower limb would mean that the leg would be dragged, not with a stiff gait but with a flaccid motion. The similarity to other lower motor neuron (LMN) diseases varies with the location of the lesion. Polio is a spinal form rather than an upper motor neuron (UMN) corticobulbar or corticospinal disease, where UMN pathways can be disrupted at any point along the path from motor cortex to the spinal cord, which can result in inconsistent muscle

¹ N.C. Sackor, R. Mayeux, 'Symptoms of Neurologic Disorders', *Merritt's Textbook of Neurology*, 9th ed., Philadelphia: Williams & Wilkins, 1995, p.1-58, see p.52-3; R..D. Adams, M. Victor, A.H. Ropper, *Principles of Neurology* 6th ed.: Companion Handbook, McGraw-Hill, New York 1991 p.57.

² Adams, Victor & Ropper p.27.

tone and tendon reflexes.³ Also changes in posture occur because the flexors in the leg and foot, and extensors in the arm, hand and fingers are weaker than the opposing muscles.⁴ The incremental changes result in the leg being extended, the arm flexed, and the limbs have therefore become 'spastic', which is not the same as the constant muscle resistance of 'rigidity' because muscle resistance increases with movement and then releases – the 'clasp-knife' phenomenon.⁵

2. Bulbar Paralysis (palsy), as against Bulbar Polio, is a weakness of muscles connected to the lower brainstem, which includes the face, tongue, larynx and pharynx,⁶ and although it can share the muscle flaccidity and atrophy of the LMN diseases, the lack of infection in the lower limbs makes this a less probable diagnosis for Claudius, unless it was combined with another disorder. Pseudobulbar Palsy, where voluntary movement of muscles is interrupted and reflex movements are intensified can result in an easily induced outburst of laughter or crying; a consequence of this pathologic outburst of emotion is that mild degrees of emotional expression are impossible, which is a feature of Pseudobulbar Palsy.⁷ The laughter could be applied to Claudius' unseemly laughter in Claud.XXX, but there is no evidence of crying, or the excessive nature of either, and even without the lack of lower limb involvement, this would tend to rule out Pseudobulbar Palsy as a possibility.⁸

The extrapyramidal movement disorders are diseases of the basal ganglia or the cerebellum, and affect rigidity, co-ordination, alterations of posture, or cause involuntary movements, but do not change muscle effectiveness.⁹ The clinical manifestations of this may bear some similarities to the symptoms described in the

³ Adams, Victor & Ropper p.28.

⁴ Adams, Victor & Ropper p.28.

⁵ Adams, Victor & Ropper p.29.

⁶ Adams, Victor & Ropper p.30.

⁷ Adams, Victor & Ropper p.30,218.

⁸ Another possibility is Atrophic Monoplegia, a unilateral spinal cord lesion, which results in the loss of voluntary control of one limb, as in Monomelic paresis, Sackor & Mayeux p.50; but again this would not explain all the reported symptoms.

⁹ Adams, Victor & Ropper p.32.

sources for Claudius. In terms of movement, extrapyramidal diseases such as Parkinson's disease require bursts of a small number of muscle movements to complete a move creating a 'cogwheel movement', where there is a lack of control of muscles for rapid movement (Hypokinesia);¹⁰ the delay in processing the necessary command is compounded by a slow execution rate. A peculiar feature is a resting tremor in the fingers, arms and chin, which may relate to the strange head gestures in the *Apocolocyntosis*, Suetonius and Dio. Movement of the affected muscles causes a ratchet-like resistance,¹¹ and there is a flexed posture where the head rests on the chest, with arms and knees slightly bent.¹² The latter, plus the disorders of equilibrium and 'postural fixation' where the patient cannot make the necessary muscle adjustments when experiencing falling or tilting, is demonstrated by a characteristic and abnormal gait; the patient seems to take increasingly quicker steps to prevent toppling over as forward falls are commonplace.¹³ This description of Bulbar Palsy does not apply to the sources, especially as Suetonius comments on Claudius' bearing, being dignified whilst seated, and in relation to Claudius' walking no source describes the festinating gait of Parkinson's.

3. Involuntary movements are signs of other basal ganglia diseases; Chorea has grimacing, respiratory noises, slack limbs at rest and when walking a rapid and jerky movement of the whole limb, trunk or hand.¹⁴ Athetosis consist of slow involuntary movements that flow or merge into one another, and can be associated with degenerative diseases like Huntington's Chorea or Double Athetosis. Dystonia (or Torsion Spasm) characteristically shows abnormal muscle movement and posture, which mainly affects the trunk muscles or limbs; although initially reversible the postures become fixed as the degenerative disease advances.¹⁵ The overlap that can occur between choreic, athetoic and dystonic movements make distinctions between the three conditions difficult, but any differential can be complicated further by

¹⁰ Sackor & Mayeux p.37.

¹¹ Adams, Victor & Ropper p.38.

¹² Adams, Victor & Ropper p.37.

¹³ Adams, Victor & Ropper p.38.

¹⁴ Adams, Victor & Ropper p.38; if there is a violent, flinging movement of the limb it is termed Hemiballus.

¹⁵ Adams, Victor & Ropper p.39.

tremor, myoclonus and ataxia – confusion can be avoided by putting all these disorders under the banner of Dyskinesias.¹⁶

The involuntary and rapid limb and trunk movements characteristic of chorea do not seem to fit with descriptions of Claudius. Similarly myoclonus, where there are lightning quick muscle jerks occurring singly or repetitively, has no echo in the sources except for the occasion when Claudius' left hand shot from beneath his toga to count on his fingers.¹⁷

4. Although Parkinson's is the most common movement disorder presented at clinics, Dystonia is the next in line. The limbs and trunk are affected by a twisting rhythmic repetitive pattern of movement; the disease can spread from a single affected limb to the other limbs or the neck muscles, and as the disease progresses the posture becomes fixed.¹⁸ If the disease strikes an adult, then it usually has a focal dimension and is restricted to a particular muscular sector consisting of the arms, neck, face, jaw, tongue or the vocal chords.¹⁹ If Dystonia is found in the vocal chords, spastic dysphonia is the result where the voice sounds restricted, coarse and broken-up by pauses because the vocal chords are contracted and pulled together.²⁰ A common symptom alongside dysphonia is vocal chord tremor, but if Essential tremor is found in the arms and neck (with vocal chord tremor) it is an important distinction to make from the focal nature of adult-onset Dystonia. Claudius is reported as having a hoarse or breathy voice (Breathy dysphonia?), and the stutter symptoms could be related to the dystonic pauses. The sources' description of Claudius' gait would rule out adult-onset Dystonia limited to dysphonia, and the severity of the dystonic movement

¹⁶ Adams, Victor & Ropper p.39.

¹⁷ Suet. *Claud.* XXI.4; also see S. Fahn, 'Ch. XV Movement Disorders', *Merritt's Textbook of Neurology*, 1995, p.695-99, see p.697, and p.703 for Myoclonus

¹⁸ Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.706, a focal Dystonia progresses to a generalised Dystonia.

¹⁹ Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.706.

²⁰ Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.708.

disorder would exclude it from consideration,²¹ because childhood-onset Dystonia from 5-15 years old usually begins in the legs or arms, 'intermittent spasmodic inversion of the foot is usually apparent on walking',²² which is not present in the sources, especially Seneca. Therefore, either as a childhood illness, or the six times more common adult disease,²³ it is not easy to apply the disorders to fit all of Claudius' symptoms.

5. Parkinsonism can be ruled out because the main features cannot be applied to Claudius with any faith or certainty; the 'positive phenomena' (usually reviewed first) of tremor,²⁴ rigidity and flexed posture may seem applicable, but the negative phenomena of bradykinesia,²⁵ loss of postural reflex and muscle 'freezing' seem far less appropriate to Claudius.²⁶ If this factor is combined with a loss of postural reflex, then the patient will fall over when stopping because of an inability to recover upright posture.²⁷

If speech is affected it can become hypophonic (soft, lacking volume) and can exhibit aprosody (a monotonous tone with no inflection), and tachyphemia (where syllables are run together).²⁸ As these are late onset effects, it means that Augustus' observations on Claudius' earlier speech would become additional symptoms, and

²¹ Young-onset dystonia, particularly Dopa-responsive dystonia (DRD) 'begins in infancy and resembles cerebral palsy with a combination of spastic and dystonic gait and marked bradykinesia, although speech and intellect are normal', Fahn, Bressman & Brin, 'Dystonia' 1995 p.709.

²² Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.709.

²³ Adult onset is usually restricted to the initial area affected being the neck or face, and 'progression to more segmental symptoms of Dystonia may occur, but of a less disabling nature', Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.707.

²⁴ The tremor is a Rest tremor of 4-5Hz frequency, and it consist of thumb and forefinger, the classic 'pill-rolling' tremor which disappears with movement, although stress makes the tremor worse, Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.714.

²⁵ Bradykinesia can affect movement, which is slow and hard to initiate, and there is a characteristic motionless sitting position coupled with a loss of gesture. Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.715.

²⁶ For Parkinsonism see Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.713-30; 'Freezing' is a transient inability to carry out motor actions, and can affect walking, writing, speaking (*palalia*), and even eyelids – it can happen suddenly and lasts for several seconds, so for example the feet would seem to be glued to the ground then become unstuck. This phenomenon occurs particularly when beginning to move, turn or approach obstacles, and if combined with loss of postural reflexes leads to many falls and resultant hip fractures, Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.715.

²⁷ Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.715.

²⁸ Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.714.

that does not seem apparent in the sources. A feature of bradykinesia is drooling, caused by the patient not swallowing, although in the advanced state swallowing may be considerably awkward which causes choking or aspiration – here fatigue may be linked to bradykinesia, and not as a result of weakness.²⁹ The Parkinsonism movement disorders outlined do not fit the descriptions of Claudius, especially the flexed posture where the head is bowed and the trunk bent forward, with the hands in front of the body, elbows, hips and knees flexed.³⁰ The loss of gesture in Parkinson's does not marry with Seneca's description, in particular, of Claudius' gesture used for execution. It could be argued that Claudius' gesture lacked all the normal signals of a gesture for that purpose so it could be called a non-gesture, which might fit symptoms of Parkinson's. Even considering this minor difficulty, Claudius' symptoms would not readily indicate Parkinson's disease.

6. Progressive Supranuclear Palsy (PSP) has similar symptoms to Parkinsonism, with gait disorders and postural instability, fatigue, lethargy and backwards falls being characteristic, coupled with muscle rigidity, an erect posture, and hyperextension of the neck.³¹ After disease onset there are problems with eye motility and vision, affecting reading and eating, whilst eyelid retraction can result in a permanent look of astonishment.³² PSP is an aggressive disease; five years after onset the patient is bedridden, and death can follow 6-10 years after onset; as PSP develops, sleep disorders, dysarthria and dysphagia become noticeable.³³ In terms of diagnostic criteria for PSPS with relevance to Claudius, the lack of tremor (?), postural instability, ocular palsy and a disease onset of after 40 years old would rule out PSP in respect of Claudius' illness. Late-onset cannot explain childhood illnesses and the subsequent problems he endured throughout adulthood, nor was Claudius bedridden by a degenerative disease, unless one explains, for example, being carried from dining to his chambers as being a result of disease and not the effects of the banquet.

²⁹ Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.714.

³⁰ Fahn, Bressman & Brin p.714.

³¹ R.C. Duvoisin, 'Progressive Supranuclear palsy', *Merritt's Textbook of Neurology* 9th ed., Philadelphia: Williams & Wilkins, p.730-33, see p.730.

³² Duvoisin p.730.

³³ Duvoisin p.730-31.

More importantly there is no evidence of any ocular disturbances that would present as the type described for PSP; no source claims Claudius looked astonished all the time, although the sources' accusation that he was fearful may translate into a physical feature of 'alarm', but that seems far-fetched.

Appendix 5.2 Cerebellar Disease

Symptoms of Cerebellar Disease, caused by an invasion or inflammation of cerebellar tissue, or an alteration of the blood supply to the brain and cerebellum result in a problem:³⁴ it is difficult to clearly separate symptoms resulting from cerebellar injury from those 'symptoms due to damage of the adjacent structure',³⁵ and it is also possible that some symptoms of double vision, hearing disorders and memory problems can be the result of diseases extending beyond the cerebellum.³⁶

In a study of 162 patients who displayed symptoms of focal cerebellar lesions,³⁷ the three most common complaints were headache (125/162), nausea and vomiting (121/162) and gait difficulty (100/162). Of the symptoms, gait difficulty (100/162), hearing loss (6/162),³⁸ tremor (4/162), limb weakness (4/162), head shaking (2/162 which is 1.2% of the sample) shows that apart from walking the symptoms in the

³⁴ S.Gilman, J.R.Bloedel, R.Lechtenberg, *Disorders of the Cerebellum: Contemporary Neurology series 21*, FA Davis, Philadelphia 1981 p.189ff; the cerebellum is responsible for co-ordinating the action of muscle groups in the body, to allow for smooth and accurate muscle action used in fine motor skills. Without input from the cerebellum voluntary movements are 'clumsy and disorganised', A.J. Gatz, *Manner's Essentials of Clinical Neuroanatomy and Neurophysiology*, 4th ed, F.A. Davis, Philadelphia 1970 p.73, and p.76-7 for clinical signs of Cerebellar Dysfunction: Ataxia, Hypotonia, Asthenia, Tremor and Nystagmus.

³⁵ Gilman, Bloedel &.Lechtenberg p.189.

³⁶ Gilman, Bloedel &.Lechtenberg p.189.

³⁷ Gilman, Bloedel &.Lechtenberg p.190 and table 1; note that Gilman Table 5 p.196 contains errors in the percentage of those tested for each effect of cerebellar disease, but I will use the numerical results as recorded and not the calculated percentage figures.

³⁸ Hearing Loss is not a symptom of cerebellar diseases but it can develop with many of them, like olivopontocerebellar atrophy, Gilman, Bloedel &.Lechtenberg p.193.

sources that are similar to cerebellar disease are in fact relatively rare. Although Suetonius reports Claudius being relieved by vomiting, there is no indication of the nausea associated with dysfunction in the cerebellar and the vestibular system. Nausea and vomiting usually go alongside headaches, and there is no mention of the latter in the sources; Claudius said he had severe stomach pains, but abdominal pain or changes in bowel patterns are not features of cerebellar disease.

Gait difficulty takes the form of an ataxic (staggering) gait,³⁹ where walking in a straight line is difficult because of problems placing the feet in the correct position; there is a tendency to lurch whilst walking and to drift to one side as one progresses.⁴⁰ There is also a tendency for patients to lift their foot higher than would be normal, and if the disorder is severe enough the patient may fall or have difficulty standing still, or fall over whilst sitting down. If Claudius had a cerebellar lesion then the consequences were far less severe than is outlined here.

In addition to the gait abnormalities, there may be postural abnormalities such as truncal ataxia or truncal titubation, a rhythmic body tremor where the trunk is rotated or rocked backwards and forwards or side to side several times a second; the rhythmic tremor can also be seen in the head, where it can be either a fine or a coarse movement – if the latter it can prevent sitting or standing.⁴¹ If it is solely a head tremor then it is usually found to be an Essential Tremor (ET), coupled to a hand and wrist tremor with no cerebellar dysfunction.⁴² A factor not reported for Claudius is

³⁹ The patient may walk as though under the influence of alcohol, Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.192, 197.

⁴⁰ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.192.

⁴¹ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.198.

⁴² P. Greene, 'Essential Tremor', *Merritt's Textbook of Neurology* 6th ed., Philadelphia: Williams & Wilkins, 1995 p.712-13; Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.193. ET is asymmetric and adult onset, beginning in the arms before spreading to the head, voice, trunk and legs – it often runs in families, Greene p.712; it can affect 0.41-5.6% of adults over 40. Initially it appears as a fine oscillation, and as age increases the oscillation decreases but the amplitude increases, and is 'most prominent when the arms are held outstretched' Greene p.712. This is exactly what Claudius did when he held Britannicus up before the Praetorians – there is no report of any tremor, or any problem in such a public arena; in addition 'lesions of the lateral cerebellar nuclei induce a tremor most marked during limb movements projected into space', Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.171, which probably negates any connection to Claudius on either disorder. Tremors after a cerebellar lesion are defined as intention (which are

either a rotated or tilted head posture, nor ocular motor dysfunction.⁴³ This can be either difficult to detect or, if a Gaze-paretic nystagmus one or both eyes cannot maintain eye position away from a midpoint so there is an oscillatory movement of the eye moving back and forward. A similar dysfunction is ocular dysmetria, and both would be obvious to the close observer, which in Claudius' case would be anyone who knew him, and Seneca in terms of the sources.

Vertigo and ocular disorders are impossible to quantify regarding Claudius, although there is no report of progressive blindness, symptoms such as dysconjugate gaze, or overshoot ocular dysmetria which would require the patient to say something or an eye examination for confirmation.

Dyssynergia, where there is a clumsy action caused by slowed and less accurate movement in reaching a target⁴⁴ is not represented in the sources. Claudius may have been inelegant and uncouth according to Augustus, but that does not mean he was ataxic, therefore clumsy and unable to perform simple physical tasks without an accident.

Diseases of the Hemispheric zone of the cerebellum produce lesions which have the following signs; static/kinetic tremors, dysarthria, dysmetria,⁴⁵ dysdiadochokinesis,⁴⁶ ocular disorders and movement disorders.⁴⁷ Hypotonia,⁴⁸ where there is a decrease in

really kinetic tremors as they occur during movement), postural and simple (which is not caused by either postural or kinetic actions) tremors., Gilman, Bloedel &.Lechtenberg p.171. Gatz p.76-7 states tremor of cerebellar dysfunction is an intention tremor that is not apparent at rest and movements are coarse and arrhythmic. Tremor will be discussed in a later section.

⁴³ 'These abnormalities (nystagmus/paresis of conjugate gaze) may be transient an asymptomatic and thus can be missed unless looked for specifically', Gilman, Bloedel &.Lechtenberg p.199.

⁴⁴ Gilman, Bloedel &.Lechtenberg p.193.

⁴⁵Dysmetria: Inability to stop a movement at the desired point in space, Gatz p.76.

⁴⁶Dysdiadochokinesis: Inability to stop one movement and follow with the opposite action, for example tapping fingers on the table, Gatz p.76; and the rate of repeated movement slows and the completeness of the action sequence decreases which results in a slow incomplete movement, Gilman, Bloedel &.Lechtenberg p.209.

⁴⁷ Gilman, Bloedel &.Lechtenberg p205; Gatz p.76.

⁴⁸ Decreased muscle tone, usually linked to decreased tendon reflexes on the affected side, Gatz p.76.

resistance to passive movement of the limbs (for example a vertical hypotonic arm⁴⁹ is limp at the wrist c90° instead of the normal 70° between the arm and the wrist⁵⁰) may bear a resemblance to Claudius' strange gesture in *Apocolocyntosis*, but it would not correlate with the arm action used to parade Britannicus, because when an affected limb is moved forward there is abnormal movement in the wrists and hyperextension of the fingers.⁵¹

Dysmetria is where a limb fails to reach the desired target (hypometria) or it can overshoot (hypermetria). The movement is not smooth but made up of 'errors of trajectory and speed, Corrective movements affect the arrival at the desired points and the final elements of the movement may be short oscillations about the (target) nose'.⁵² Patients may be able to compensate for those inaccurate movements with visual cues, but in severe cases this is not possible.⁵³ The Barony Test has some relevance to the study of Claudius, as the patient is asked to put his arms out in front of him, with eyes closed his arms go over his head and re-adjustment is attempted at the shoulders.⁵⁴ There is no evidence of dysmetria being present, and there is no mention in the sources of a difficulty with limb placement, nor a dysmetric gait disorder.⁵⁵ In the case of Claudius there is not enough evidence to be able to evaluate the degree of disability, although there is evidence of what he was able to accomplish physically which would prevent a negative or detrimental prognosis.

⁴⁹ Upper arm would be perpendicular to body and forearm would be vertical, running parallel to trunk

⁵⁰ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.205-6 and see fig.3.

⁵¹ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.206.

⁵² Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.207 and see fig. 4.

⁵³ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.207-8.

⁵⁴ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.208; and 'Patients with cerebellar lesions will position the arms inaccurately usually overshooting the original position or drifting laterally with one or both arms', Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.208.

⁵⁵ 'A profound gait disorder may develop with cerebellar damage in the absence of clinically demonstrable lower limb dysmetria' Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.208; The Ataxic Gait is a combination of the problems of dysmetria and dysdiadochokinesis, and the movements progress from those 'previously fluid and accurate become halting and imprecise' Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.209; and it is difficult to reconcile the following as a diagnosis for Claudius 'the abnormalities of movement of cerebellar disease have been termed asynergia or dyssynergia, terms indicating the patient's inability to perform various components of a movement at the right time and the appropriate space' Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.210 and notes 3, 62.

If one accepts that Claudius had deficits in the right leg and possibly the right arm, then hypothetically, if they were the result of cerebellar lesions, then he would be in a group of 22 patients with right hemispheric disease who had right limb dysfunction. Or he would be similar to the smaller group of 4 patients with left hemisphere disease who had right limb dysfunction, but not the 37 who had left hemisphere and left limb dysfunction.⁵⁶ He may be similar to those patients without limb dysmetria where the gait dysfunction can be more severe because of the lesions in the RH;⁵⁷ Claudius' movement symptoms could apply to three categories, but it is impossible to say whether he would have had left or right hemisphere lesions from the evidence in the sources, and it is difficult to apply the evidence available and conclude his movements were ataxic. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the sources is that Claudius could not have had cerebellar ataxia, mainly because of the positive evidence that he could do something rather than the negative evidence that he could not.

Appendix 5.3 Motor Neuron Diseases

A late-onset condition warrants consideration in the light of the above discussion, where an illness is present in the latter stages of Claudius' life, and not present in childhood. If one looks at motor neuron diseases which have an onset after 50,⁵⁸ they include Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis (ALS), Primary Lateral Sclerosis (PLS), Hereditary Bulbar Palsy, Multifocal Motor Neuropathies, Post-Polio Syndrome

⁵⁶ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.210 table 9.

⁵⁷ Gilman, Bloedel & Lechtenberg p.211 table 10.

⁵⁸ The symptoms are typically wasting, fasciculation and flaccid weakness of muscles because of the 'loss of function of the upper and lower motor neurons that innervate the voluntary muscles of the limbs and bulbar regions', M. Donaghy 'Classification and clinical features of motor neuron diseases and motor neuropathies in adults' *JNeurol* 246 (1999) 331-33.

(PPS) and Hereditary Spastic Paraplegia;⁵⁹ the disorders that are not inherited are sporadic ALS, MMN, PPS and PLS.

5.3a Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis

Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis (ALS), Lou Gehrig's Disease, is a progressive neuromuscular disease that causes degeneration of the UMN and LMN that control voluntary muscle movement; the disease results in paralysis of the muscle cells as the neural connection has deteriorated and is eventually terminated.⁶⁰ The onset of the disease can produce three distinct symptoms; a third of patients suffer from clumsy hands because of problems with fine motor tasks, another third can find weakness in the legs (or footdrop),⁶¹ and a further third suffer from slow speech and swallowing problems of dysphagia.⁶²

The early symptoms are fatigue and involuntary muscle twitching⁶³ that can be made worse by drugs like caffeine or anxiety, which has a minor resemblance to Suetonius' description of a 'tremor' getting worse under any strain. As the disease progresses, stiffness, cramps or jerking of the arms or legs caused by new muscle spasticity is common, and one side is usually affected more than the other; although only 3.5% show clinical signs of dementia⁶⁴ and there may be an inherited aspect where depression, insomnia and emotional susceptibility and excess is evident.⁶⁵ However, some similarity to the portrait of Claudius is inevitable, but caution is

⁵⁹ Donaghy table 1 p.332.

⁶⁰ www.miami-als.org/als.htm, 10.07.03; also see Donaghy p.331-32; K.Talbot, 'Motor Neuron Disease', *Postgrad Med J* 78 (2002) 513-19 see p.513-4.

⁶¹ Talbot p513 states the weakness and wasting of the limbs is asymmetric and accounts for 85% of all cases of MND i.e. ALS, where the disease begins in one limb or a combination of symptoms of dysarthria, dysphagia, tongue wasting and jaw jerk – the latter may also have some relevance to Seneca's description of the head movement when Claudius approaches Hercules.

⁶² www.miami-als.org/als.htm, 10/07/03.

⁶³ fasciculations are muscle twitches.

⁶⁴ For dementia and associated diseases see I.M.S.Wilkinson, *Essential Neurology*³, 1999 p.220.

⁶⁵ www.miami-als.org/als.htm, 10.07.03; Talbot p.513.

needed with the emotional aspects of any description. As a consequence of bulbar involvement, dysarthria and dysphagia are present and the alteration of speech by a 'weak voice, strained/slurred speech, and hoarseness',⁶⁶ coupled with an increase in saliva (ptyalism), and the loss of articulate speech (anarthria) would partially fit the picture in Suetonius.

There are three problems with proposing ALS as the disease that affected Claudius. Firstly, the incidence is 1-2 per 100,000, and the prevalence is 5-7 per 100,000 worldwide,⁶⁷ which makes ALS a relatively rare disease, coming after Alzheimer's and Parkinson's in neurodegenerative diseases.⁶⁸ The second factor is the poor prognosis, where the disease proves fatal within 2-5 years⁶⁹ after the first appearance of the symptoms.⁷⁰ The third reason is the clear evidence of slow degeneration of voluntary control of muscles, and that paralysis can be virtually total, which would make carrying out functions of princeps increasingly difficult and then impossible. Albeit towards the end of Claudius' principate, any decline would be serious and fast and would have to have begun at least by early AD49 or by AD53 at the latest; an examination of a case history will demonstrate how even the latter scenario is not tenable.

A case report of a female ALS patient, where onset was at 69 years with dysarthria and gait disturbance⁷¹ bears a similarity to the discussion here. Six months after onset dysphagia occurred, and 23 months after onset clinical examination revealed atrophy

⁶⁶ www.miami-als.org/als.htm, 10.07.03.

⁶⁷ www.fpnotebook.com/NEU149.htm, 19.06.03; Talbot p.513.

ALS affects up to 20,000 Americans with 5,000 new cases occurring in the United States each year, <http://www.ninds.nih.gov/disorders/amyotrophiclateralsclerosis/amyotrophiclateralsclerosis.htm> updated December 03, 2004, 6/01/05.

⁶⁸ Talbot p.513; there is the problem of the lack of identification of ALS in the 1st century AD, either because it was not recognised by contemporary physicians or it did not exist at that time because of shorter lifespan or other variables.

⁶⁹ Prognosis is death follows 1-3 years after onset in www.fpnotebook.com/NEU149.htm 19.06.03

⁷⁰ www.miami-als.org/als.htm, 10.07.03.

⁷¹ K. Tsuchiya, M. Takahashi, H. Shiotsu, H. Akiyama, C. Haga, S. Watabiki, K. Taki, I. Nakano, K. Ikeda, 'Sporadic amyotrophic lateral sclerosis with circumscribed temporal atrophy: a report of an autopsy case without dementia and with ubiquitinated intraneuronal inclusions', *Neuropathology* 22 (2002) 308-316.

mainly in the lower limbs, muscle weakness, atrophy of the tongue and hyper-reflexia in the limbs; ‘at this stage the patient could not walk by herself, but there was neither character change nor dementia’.⁷² The woman communicated by writing, and died of respiratory failure two years after the disease onset;⁷³ although this case cannot be an exact parallel to Claudius because the dysarthria, dysphagia and tongue atrophy are particularly common in women,⁷⁴ it demonstrates the rapid decline seen in ALS patients – it is worth considering that early diagnosis of ALS is difficult and that the prognosis is worse if there is bulbar involvement as seen in this case; in addition speech difficulties from childhood outlined in Dio would not be dysarthria of any type acquired through ALS because the age gap is too larger than the longest recorded survival period for an ALS patient.

80% of ALS patients are diagnosed with respiratory muscle weakness which leads to death by respiratory failure⁷⁵ – the decline is rapid. Patients with deteriorating respiratory function and those with ALS sleep-disordered breathing have been studied,⁷⁶ and, in relation to Claudius, it is significant that ‘patients with moderate/severe bulbar weakness tended to have more severe respiratory muscle weakness and less severe limb and axial muscle weakness’ which would mean the patient can suffer from the bulbar signs of dysarthria and dysphagia but the legs and arms are less affected as a result.⁷⁷

⁷² Tsuchiya *et al* p.309.

⁷³ Tsuchiya *et al* p.309, for autopsy results see p.310ff.

⁷⁴ Talbot p.513.

⁷⁵ S.C. Bourke, P.J. Shaw, G.J. Gibson, ‘Respiratory function vs. sleep-disordered breathing as predictors of QOL in ALS’ *Neurology* 57 (2001) 2040-44, p.2040; ALS is the *most common* adult neurodegenerative disease in the UK with a prevalence of 6/100,000. Bourke, Shaw & Gibson p.2040, which contradicts Talbot p.513 in terms of the relative interpretation of the figures.

⁷⁶ Bourke, Shaw & Gibson examined and assessed fine motor function, gross motor function, bulbar and respiratory functions using the disease-specific ALS Function Rating Scale ALSFRS p2041.

⁷⁷ It is possible that if weakness was in the limbs then the gait disorder is less noticeable, and any weakness-induced tremor would be less likely to be present. It is reported that 17-76% of ALS patients have sleep-disordered breathing and this can be found at an early stage of ALS with bulbar impairment ‘without the symptoms of respiratory weakness or sleep disturbance’, Bourke, Shaw & Gibson p.2043.

The study concentrates on the impact sleep disruption causes to the Quality of Life (QOL) of ALS sufferers and concluded 'that symptomatic sleep disruption is attributable predominantly to respiratory muscle weakness, and apnoeas and hypopnoea are of little importance in determining QOL'.⁷⁸ Therefore, if Claudius had ALS, the reported sleep disruption would be caused by respiratory problems, and point to bulbar involvement of ALS that has the worst prognosis from onset of 2-3 years. This would place the disease beginning in AD51/2 and the following rapid decline to incapacity would be impossible to hide. Although these late-onset symptoms bear a similarity to Claudius' illness, a diagnosis of ALS does not address cold intolerance, stomach pains, tremor, the childhood illnesses and any long-term gait disorder; the serious articulation problems of ALS would not allow the princeps to deliver speeches or judgements in the law courts, which would be a prominent dereliction of duty and open to attack from his critics – neither are reported in the sources.

5.3b Primary Lateral Sclerosis

A pure UMN syndrome which can be discounted is Primary Lateral Sclerosis. Although probably related to ALS, the progression of the paresis is symmetrical and combined with symptoms of pseudobulbar palsy ('a brisk jaw jerk, stiff slow tongue and a characteristic spastic dysarthria in which patients are described as sounding as if they have a hot potato in their mouth')⁷⁹ this seems inappropriate for Claudius' speech disorder. PLS endures for approximately 20 years and the incidence is of 1 per 10 million, i.e. 0.5% that of ALS.⁸⁰ It has symptoms of lower limb stiffness, dysarthria and dysphagia. Any similarity to the symptoms of Claudius has to be seen

⁷⁸ Bourke, Shaw & Gibson p.2043, for a discussion of the indicators for, and assessment of, QOL see p.2043-44. Also see S.M. Walsh, S. Fischer 'Quality of life in ALS is maintained as physical function declines' *Neurology* 56 (2001) 442-44.

⁷⁹ Talbot p.514

⁸⁰ C.Armon, *Primary Lateral Sclerosis*, www.emedicine.com/NEURO/topic324.htm, 10.07.03, the current estimate for 2002 is circa 500 patients with PLS in the USA.

in the context of the disease. Although a slow rate of progression, it is an adult-onset sporadic disease which is not fatal; therefore there is no way of forecasting an onset date because how far the disease had progressed is an unknown. If the onset age is 35-66 years, and the median age is 50.5,⁸¹ then for Claudius the symmetrical progression and fourteen years of degenerative illness would be a substantial deterioration. This would be made worse 'as the upper extremities become involved patients may have difficulties with activities of daily living (ADLs)';⁸² Even though there is difficulty assessing physical capability in the sources there seems to be no real problem with most normal activities, but the characteristic dysarthria and symmetric muscle weakness rule out PLS for Claudius.

5.3c Multifocal Motor Neuropathy

Multifocal Motor Neuropathy (MMN) is a LMN disease in adults, which results in asymmetrical muscle weakness, muscle fasciculation and muscle cramps; it can be mistaken for ALS⁸³ but MMN with conduction block is treatable⁸⁴ unlike ALS which is a terminal disease. The mean age for onset of MMN is 40, and while asymmetric involvement of the limbs is found in 90% of patients, weakness is more common in the upper rather than the lower limbs – it is problems in distribution of individual nerves that can result in finger or wrist drop.⁸⁵

⁸¹ C.Armon, *Primary Lateral Sclerosis*, www.emedicine.com/NEURO/topic324.htm, 10.07.03; Talbot p.514; the relative rarity of the disorder is not grounds alone for ruling it out, but 1/10,000,000 is not exactly common.

⁸² C.Armon, *Primary Lateral Sclerosis*, <http://www.emedicine.com/NEURO/topic324.htm> 4/01/05

⁸³ R.K. Olney, R.A. Lewis, T.D. Putnam, J.J.V. Campbellowe, 'Consensus Criteria for the diagnosis of Multifocal Motor Neuropathy', *Muscle Nerve* 27 (2003) 117-121; this is a diagnostic guide because there is 'no widely accepted criteria for the diagnosis of Multifocal Motor Neuropathy' p117.

⁸⁴ L.P. Rowland, 'Hereditary and Acquired Motor Neuron Diseases', *Merritt's Textbook of Neurology 9th ed.*, Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1995 p.742-9, p746; all patients with MMN have potential conduction block of the motor fibres, where an 'action potential fails to propagate through a stretch of structurally intact axon', A. Ghosh, M. Donaghy, 'Multifocal Neuropathy' *Neurology India* 50 (2002) 408-416, p409 where MMN interrupts the flow of nerve impulses to the muscles, unlike MND of which ALS is a major part (Olney p.119).

⁸⁵ Ghosh & Donaghy p.409.

In the early years, muscle wasting can be absent or mild, and ‘patients may simultaneously have severe wasting of some muscles, and profound weakness but minimal or no wasting of the other muscles in the same limb’⁸⁶ Sensory loss may not be apparent, but the early symptoms are primarily in the hands or feet.⁸⁷ It is the conduction block where the neural message fails to continue its journey to the muscle, which differentiates MMN from other chronic LMN syndromes.⁸⁸ The evidence from the sources is insufficient for this case; the new and narrower diagnostic criteria proposed by Olney *et al* makes it even more difficult for this survey because of the impossibility of identifying which nerves have a conduction block,⁸⁹ therefore diagnosis of MMN is not feasible.

In the case of Peripheral neuropathies, the peripheral nerves are subject to pathological changes; the nerves are demyelinated which will hinder the flow of nerve impulses because sections (segments) of the myelin sheath enveloping the axon are missing; the impulse is stopped completely or slowed down either of which have serious consequences for the target muscle.⁹⁰ The problem is more evident in the longer nerves because there are more demyelinated segments, which interrupt the transmission of impulses and result in symptoms like foot drop or a loss of sensation (pins and needles) being more evident in the feet and legs rather than the hands and arms.⁹¹ There is an ill-defined similarity to Claudius’ symptoms of limb disorders except for the symmetrical progression of weakness and spasticity, and no other factors are addressed by this diagnosis.

⁸⁶ Ghosh & Donaghy p.409.

⁸⁷ For diagnostic criteria for ‘definite’ and ‘probable’ MMN see Olney *et al* table 2 p.119; Ghosh & Donaghy p.409; Rowland p.747.

⁸⁸ Ghosh & Donaghy p.409; Olney *et al* p.120; Also see R.M. Van den Berg-Vos, J. Visner, H. Franssen, M. de Visser, J.M.B.V. de Jong, S. Kalmij, J.H.J. Wokke, L.H. Van den Berg, ‘Sporadic lower motor neuron disease with adult onset: classification of subtypes’ *Brain* 126 (2003) 1036-1047.

⁸⁹ For a discussion of conduction block and a differential diagnosis of MMN see Ghosh & Donaghy p.410, 413-14.

⁹⁰ Wilkinson p.154.

⁹¹ Wilkinson p.154ff.

5.3d Guillain-Barré Syndrome

Since the eradication of polio in the West, Guillain-Barré Syndrome (GBS), which is a type of peripheral neuropathy, is the major form of flaccid paralysis.⁹² The infection probably triggers a response that causes limb weakness and sensory disorders to worsen, before it reaches a plateau and stops advancing; recovery occurs within 2-4 weeks later.⁹³ The acute demyelinating neuropathy is present in 85% of GBS cases, and in 33% of cases intensive care with assisted ventilation is necessary.⁹⁴ The incidence of 86 per 100,000 of those over 70 years contrasts with 1.3-1.9 per 100,000 of those under 40 years old⁹⁵ and means it is unlikely to be a childhood illness especially because the prognosis is good; the pathology is in the myelin, not the axons of the peripheral nerves and 'recovery is due to the capability of Schwann cells to reconstitute the myelin sheaths after the initial demyelination',⁹⁶ which allows the patient to recover. The revitalization leaves 20% with severe motor sequelae one year after onset, and their recovery may need help by using nerve growth factors⁹⁷ Claudius could hypothetically belong to this group, where partial recovery is the result, but 'by far the most frequent outcome of this condition is complete recovery over a few weeks or months, and no similar trouble thereafter'.⁹⁸ If a complete recovery is likely, death occurs in 5% of cases, and then one could place GBS some way down the list of possible disease that affected Claudius.

⁹² A.F. Kahn, 'Guillain-Barré Syndrome' *The Lancet* 352 (1998) 635-41, p.635.

⁹³ Kahn p.635; Wilkinson p.159.

⁹⁴ For prior infections see Kahn p.636-37; for acute inflammatory demyelinating polyradiculoneuropathy (AIDP) and the four variations within this clinical spectrum see Kahn p.637-38.

⁹⁵ D.J. Lange N. Latov, W. Trojaborg 'Acquired Neuropathies' *Merritt's Textbook of Neurology 9th ed.*, Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1995 p.657-76, give an incidence at 0.6-1.9 per 100,000 as a general figure, p.657.

⁹⁶ Wilkinson p.159; There was a coincidental rise in GBS in Finland after a polio vaccine campaign, and following on from a flu epidemic where widespread wild-type poliovirus may have acted as a trigger for GBS – see discussion in Kahn p.637.

⁹⁷ Kahn p.640.

⁹⁸ Wilkinson p.159; also see Lange, Latov & Trojaborg p.657-76.

The main diseases that are differentiated from GBS are Botulism, Myasthenia gravis, Diphtheritic Polyneuropathy and acute Poliomyelitis – the latter distinguished by asymmetrical paralysis, meningeal infection and fever.⁹⁹ The rapid onset of GBS after a viral upper respiratory or gastrointestinal infection may fit with the pattern of childhood illnesses in the sources, but as the incidence increases with age¹⁰⁰ it seems less likely to be a valid diagnosis because the sources would be describing symptoms that were only present for a few weeks. If there are any lasting symptoms, or clusters of symptoms (sequelae), they are often not severe. Without current medical facilities the 30% admitted for either respiratory or oropharyngeal muscle problems¹⁰¹ would probably not have survived in the 1st century AD. If the patient's symptoms have not reached a plateau by two weeks then GBS is doubtful, and a continuation of more than six weeks means it may be a chronic inflammatory demyelinating polyneuropathy, which has a very slow recovery rate. Nonetheless, with the evidence available it is doubtful that Claudius suffered from GBS particularly because of the symmetrical progression, the rapid recovery rates, and the probability that any respiratory complications that would necessitate hospital treatment would, in his case, result in certain death.

⁹⁹ Lange, Latov & Trojaborg p.659; Kahn p.635; for an outline of the process of diagnosis of neurological patients, and how to focus on symptoms and analyse them see S.J.Ellis, *Clinical Neurology: Essential Concepts*, Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1988 p.1-4.

¹⁰⁰ Lange, Latov & Trojaborg p.657.

¹⁰¹ A difficulty swallowing can cause aspiration of food or stomach contents which can have fatal consequences, see Lange, Latov & Trojaborg p.660, and the severity of the oropharyngeal muscle problems requires the patient to be fed nasogastrically (Ellis p.105); a case history of a 65 year old who is admitted with progressive weakness in all four limbs, and dysphagia but no sensory loss, and a bilateral facial weakness – she was treated for GBS and it was when the cerebrospinal fluid protein level was raised, (an option not available in the 1st century AD) that confirmed the diagnosis of GBS. A partial recovery led to her living at home 'but still had some distal weakness in the legs and was troubled by dysaesthesiae' (abnormal sensations in the limbs), Ellis p.105.

Appendix 5.4: Numismatic Portraits of Julio-Claudian emperors



Figure 5.1 Augustus *Denarius*. obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE. laureate head right, rev: AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT, C L CAESARES, Gaius & Lucius standing front with shields & spears; and above, a *simpulum* & *lituus*. *BMCRE* 540, *RIC* 210.3.



Figure 5.2 Augustus *Denarius*. Colonia Patricia mint, 18-16 BC. obv: SPQR IMP CAESARI AVG COS XI TR POT VI, bare head of Augustus right, rev: CIVIB ET SIGN MILIT A PART RECVPER, triumphal arch, Augustus in quadriga between two Parthians. *RIC* 143

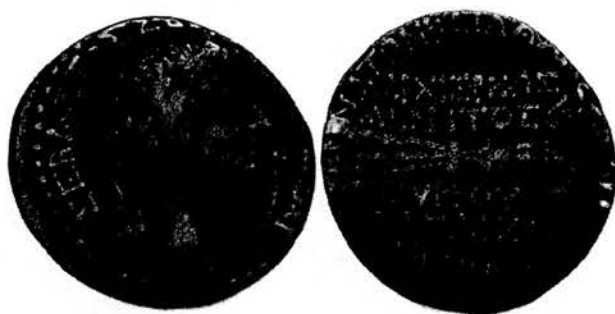


Figure 5.3 Tiberius AE25 of Olba, Cilicia. obv: Laureate head of Tiberius, rev: Thunderbolt. *RPC* 3731



Figure 5.4 Tiberius *Tetradrachm* of Alexandria. 20/21 AD. obv: Laureate head of Tiberius right; rev: Radiate head of Divus Augustus right *RPC* 5089



Figure 5.5 Tiberius AR *Denarius*, Lugdunum. obv: TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS, laureate head right rev: PONTIF MAXIM, Livia as *Pax*, with olive-branch and inverted spear. *RIC* 28.1



Figure 5.6 Tiberius AR *Denarius* Lugdunum. obv: TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS, laureate head right, rev: PONTIF MAXIM, Livia as *Pax*, with olive-branch and inverted spear. *RIC* 28.13



Figure 5.7 Caligula & Divus Augustus AV *Aureus*. 37 AD. obv: C CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR POT COS, bare head, rev: Radiate head of Augustus, with two stars. *RIC* 1, *BMCRE* 1.



Figure 5.8 Caligula & Divus Augustus *Denarius*. obv: C CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR POT, bare head, rev: DIVVS AVG PATER PATRIAE, radiate head of Augustus. *RIC* 10, *BMCRE* 10.



Figure 5.9 Caligula & Germanicus AV *Aureus*. 40 AD. obv: C CAESAR AVG PON M TR POT III COS III, laureate head of Caligula, rev: GERMANICVS CAES P CAES AVG GERM, bare head of Germanicus. *RIC* 25



Figure 5.10 Caligula & Germanicus AR *Denarius*. obv: C CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR POT, laureate head of Caligula, rev: GERMANICVS CAES P C CAES AVG GERM, bare head of Germanicus. *BMCRE* 12, *RIC* 12.



Figure 5.11 Claudius AV *Aureus*. 44/5 AD. obv: TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P IIII, laureate head right, rev: PACI AVGVSTAE, *Pax* holding *caduceus* above snake. *BMCRE* 26, *RIC* 27



Figure 5.12 Claudius. AR *Denarius* 51-52 AD. obv: TI CLAUD CAESAR AVG P M TR P XI IMP P P COS V, laureate head right, rev: PACI AVGVSTAE, *Pax* holding *caduceus*, a serpent in front. *RIC* 62.1

All coin photographs and legends in Appendix 5.4 modified from Sears' catalogue entries at <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/>

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